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ISLAM AS THE TEST OF THE VALIDITY AND VITALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH [1]

The social and religious system of Islam, for centuries the most rigid, exclusive, resistant, and, as some would say, the most intolerant of all, has during the decades of the present century been undergoing stupendous and well-nigh unbelievable changes. Almost every Moslem land—in Africa, in Western, Central, and Southern Asia, and in the East Indies—is ablaze with new national and social aspirations and ambitions. One finds an earnest struggle to achieve a political organization of a more democratic and constitutional form. This is often coupled, however, with pronounced hostility to Western governments. The most remarkable event of all has been the abolition of the Caliphate.

The renaissance of Arabic culture, the rapid multiplication of periodicals and of book and pamphlet literature, the great increase in the numbers of Moslem youth in schools and colleges of Western learning, and the surging tide of new thought, all bear witness to a notable intellectual awakening. The new search for truth and the ferment of dynamic and even of revolutionary ideas are exerting a great emancipating, liberalizing, and transforming influence. The larger political and intellectual freedom leads inevitably to greater religious freedom. Reactionary conservatism, inertia, and intolerance are giving way to the

[1] From "Methodists United for Action", published by the Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Nashville, Tenn., 1939. Used by permission of the author and publishers.

spirit of scientific inquiry. Moslem teachers and writers reveal that they have a growing realization of the weakness of Islam as a religion to meet the social, national, and international demands of the modern age, or to satisfy the searching questions of the mind and the deeper longings of the heart. A re-evaluation of Islam as a religion is taking place, and Moslem thinkers are seeking to restate both their offensive and their defensive apologetic; and this is accompanied in some areas by a renaissance of Islam on modern lines, especially through the press at important centers.

A Moslem world undergoing such varied, such extensive, such profound, and such momentous changes is of supreme interest and concern to all Christendom. As a matter of fact, the attention of Christians is today riveted on Islam as at no other time since the Moslem invasion of Europe. And well it may be. The position, trends, and purposes of a religion of over 250,000,000 adherents necessarily have large meaning to the Christian religion, with its world mission and program. The attitude and welfare of the followers of Islam have a vital bearing on the international and interracial relations of mankind, and, therefore, on the peace of the world.

The attitude of Christians and of Christian nations toward Islam and its adherents is most vital and pressing. What the attitude of Christians is to be will determine that of Islam to Christendom. Great is the need of Christianizing the impact of the so-called Christian nations upon the Moslem world. It is to be feared that much of the diplomacy, the territorial designs, the administrative policy, and the commercial activities of Christian powers have been and still are non-Christian as judged by their effects. The spread of Western materialism and of the corrupt influences of modern civilization, unless the adequate counteracting and transforming energies of vital Christianity are more largely brought to bear, will result in making the last state of Moslem lands worse than the first.

There are many signs of the weakening of the social

hold of Islam. This is illustrated in the changing position of women, especially in the cities: for example, in abolition of the veil and what it stands for; in the postponement of marriage and the greater freedom of choice on the woman's part; in attendance of women at lectures and entertainments; in the formation of women's clubs; and in the ever-growing demand for education. The spread of Western industrialism and the startling development of the material aspects of modern civilization have had a marked disintegrating influence.

Everywhere one encounters a hunger for knowledge. A new mentality is being developed as a result of contact with Western science and civilization. Above all, one is impressed with the religious unsettling among Moslems. Many are sorely perplexed and do not know where they are going. There are multiplying evidences of rebellion against tradition and external authority. Much of the old bigotry and fanaticism have gone. There is a spirit of inquiry abroad, combined with a determination to make the most of themselves and of the new day, accompanied in certain places by a violent nationalism.

The marvelous accessibility of the Mohammedan world to the friendly and constructive ministry of the Christian religion is noticeable. Whole regions and entire classes of people who never before were reached by the message of Christ have now become physically accessible. There have been rapid and fascinating developments in ease of communication throughout North Africa and the Near East by the construction of thousands of miles of railways and modern highways, the use of automobile transport, and the air post. Even the Sahara nowadays is being regularly crossed by automobiles, and railroads are extending. The radio also has come into wide use even by Bedouin Arabs. An Arab today would rather buy a radio than a camel.

In almost every Moslem land education is being actively promoted by the Government as well as by Christian missions, and the rate of literacy is rapidly increasing.

The present generation is gaining an entirely new outlook because of the newspaper, books, the cinema, and the theater, while modern pictorial advertising has created a hundred points of contact with Western civilization. A far larger proportion than formerly of pupils and students in mission schools and colleges of the Near East and Southern Asia are Moslems. The same is true of parts of Africa. The problem in the Moslem world today, therefore, is not that of accessibility, but one of adequate multiplication of workers, of a better distribution of the forces available, and of augmenting the spiritual forces. . . . .

The impression is too widely prevalent in the Churches at the home base that work for Moslems is comparatively fruitless and hopeless. The truth of the matter is that the time has now come to reap. Whereas formerly indirect methods of approach were necessary on account of government restrictions and Moslem opposition and fanaticism, yet in many Moslem lands today the way is open to widespread and direct evangelization. The minds of Moslems are now in a plastic and impressionable state, and must be given the Christian message.

The essential victory or ultimate triumph of our Christian faith is involved as well as its validity and vitality in our attitude toward Moslems. A gospel which cannot, after being adequately brought to bear upon Moslems, win their minds and hearts, and command the allegiance of their wills, must fail to satisfy the deepest longings and the highest expectations of the followers of other religions and of those without any religious faith. Ultimately, therefore, the triumph of the Christian cause in other foreign fields and at the home base is involved in what takes place in the Mohammedan world.

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THE DAUGHTERS OF ALLAH

Our knowledge of pre-Islamic Arabian religion is still in a rather chaotic condition.[1] This is especially true of the northern part of the peninsula. Inscriptions have preserved for us the names of quite a number of deities and early Moslem antiquarians have added to the list. But as for the character of these deities and the relation in which they stood to one another we are still largely in the dark. Utilizing my analysis of the Lihyanite and Thamudic inscriptions[2] I have attempted to inject some sort of order into the prevailing chaos. This method of approach has, at least, the merit of making it possible to arrange the references to the deities according to their geographical distribution and chronological order. When this has been done, certain facts at once become apparent.

I will not attempt in the present essay, however, to deal with all the deities whose names are known to us but only with the three goddesses, Allāt, al-'Uzzā, and Manāt, who are found associated in the fifty-third chapter of the Koran (v. 19f.). In seeking to identify Allāt it will be found necessary to make a study of all three. It is evident from the Koran that these three goddesses were held in high esteem by the Arabs of Mekka, and much of Mohammed's polemic against polytheism is to be understood as an attack on their worship. Mohammed ridicules the idea that they were actually Allah's daughters, as popular opinion maintained. "What!" he exclaims, "shall ye have male progeny and Allah only female? That would be an

[1] The standard discussions of Arabian paganism are Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums,* 2nd edit. 1897; Nöldeke's article on "Arabs (Ancient)" in *Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* 1908; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde,* chap. 5, 1927. Compare also Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins,* 1934, chap. 7; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 3rd edit. by S. A. Cook, 1927; and Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients,* 1926, pp. 711ff.

[2] *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (University of Toronto Press, 1937).

unfair division!" These goddesses, he says, "are mere names which you and your forefathers have employed. Allah has sent down no authorization of their worship" (vv. 21-23).[3]

The fact that these goddesses are referred to in the Koran has meant that they have received a certain amount of attention at the hands of Koranic commentators. Most of our information concerning them, however, is derived from the *Book of Idols*[4] of Ibn al-Kalbī (8th cent. A. D.). We are told that the sanctuary of Allāt was at Ta'if, a town seventy miles east of Mekka, and that the caretakers (*sadanat*) of her shrine belonged to the Thaqīf tribe. The sanctuary of al-'Uzza was at Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya, a place not far from Mekka on the road to Iraq. Its distinguishing features were three sacred acacia (*samur*) trees and a grotto called the *Ghabghab*. The caretakers belonged to the Banū Shaibān. The sanctuary of Manat was located in the valley of Qudaid between Mekka and Yathrib (Medina). According to Ibn al-Kalbī Manat was the favorite goddess of the tribes inhabiting Yathrib (the Aus and Khazrag), whereas the Mekkans held al-'Uzza in greatest esteem. All three goddesses were represented by stone pillars (betyls, Arab. *nuṣb,* Heb. *maṣṣēbâ*).

There can be no reasonable doubt that in the period immediately preceding the rise of Islam the three spots mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī did mark the principal sanctuaries of these goddesses but, as will be seen later, there is reason for believing that their original seats were somewhere else. Ibn al-Kalbī presents the situation as it existed at the time of Mohammed, but the discovery of numerous pre-Islamic inscriptions has enabled us to carry back our knowledge of these goddesses many centuries before Mohammed. We know now, for instance, that al-

[3] Cp. 37:149-153 where Mohammed ridicules the idea of female angels created by Allah. If Allah had wanted offspring, "would He have chosen daughters rather than sons?" Since the three goddesses mentioned above seem to have been the only female divinities worshipped by the northern Arabs, it is likely that all the references in the Koran to female angels are to be understood as applying to them. It is important to note that they occupy an inferior position to Allah, being merely intercessors, although intercessors of great influence. The conception of a supreme God was prevalent but a prophet was needed to sweep away the remnants of the old polytheism.

[4] *Kitāb al-Aṣnām,* ed. by Ahmed Żeki Pasha, 2nd edit., Cairo, 1924. For Marmardji's French translation of the first edition, see *Revue biblique,* XXXV (1926), 397ff.

'Uzza was worshipped by the Sabaeans of South Arabia, for four Sabaean inscriptions (CIH 558 [4], 559 [1f.], Berlin VA 5313 [4], Mordtmann and Schlobies, *Altsüd. Inschrift.*, No. 81) refer to her, as does possibly one Minaean (EDAr. I [3]). We know too that Allāt must have found favor there, for many Southern Arabs bear Allat-names. [5] It has not been generally noticed, however, that these goddesses and their devotees appear only in inscriptions of a comparatively late date. At least, the inscriptions are found to be late wherever it is possible to check their date, and the inference seems justified that they are all late. Thus the majority of the Sabaean references (CIH 287, 305, 315, 352, 408, 558, 647, Berlin VA 5313) come from the Hamdanid period and are therefore later than 250 A.D. CIH 517 is from the reign immediately preceding this period. SE 78-79 comes from the time of Shahr Yagul Yuhargib, king of Qataban, to be dated perhaps in the early part of the first century A.D. The Hadramic reference is from the reign of Yada' 'ab Bayyin. The Minaean references are the earliest but do not seem to be earlier than the reign of Abiyada' Yathi' in the fourth century B. C., and it is significant that most of the Minaean references occur in North Arabia. This shows us that neither al-'Uzza nor Allat was indigenous in the South but appeared there only after the South had established trading-colonies in the North. If they had been indigenous, we should surely meet with some references to them in the early Sabaean texts. The absence of any such references proves that these goddesses had their true home in the North. This impresses on us the fact that, while the religions of North and South Arabia were essentially the same, they seem to have developed independently and only began to interact on one another at a comparatively late period.

[5] In Sabaean: *'Abdallat* (Hal. 76 [3, 4, 5?,] CIH 715, 716), *Ausallat* (CIH 287 [9, 10,] 305, 315 [13,] 352 [2], 647, R. 3211 (false), *Sa'dallat* (CIH 408 [1], 445 [1]), *Taimallat* (CIH 520 [3?]), *Wahballat* (CIH 169, MM 99 [3]), *Zaidallat* (CIH 517 [1]). Whether *M-g-d-l-t* (CIH 19 [8]), *M-r-g-l-t* (CIH 568), *N-ṣ-l-t* (CIH 434 [12]) are Allat-names is uncertain. In Minaean: *Sa'dallat* (Hal. 577 [3]), *Taimallat* (JS 87; T. of Rida' in JS 119, EDAr. LIV, LV, LVI), *Wahballat* (JS 19 lih., a Minaean insc.), *Zaidallat* (Hal. 411 [5] Gl. 1073 [5]). In Qatabanian: *Ausallat* (SE 78-79 [33]), *Salamallat* (SE 74). In Hadramic: *Tha'dallat* (Langer 14 [1]). The name *Amat'uzzayan* occurs in the Sabaean inscription CIH 558 [6f.].

If we turn now to the North, to the proper home of these goddesses, we find the earliest reference to one of them in the form of a Manat-name occurring in a Dedanite inscription (*Zaidmanat* in JS 228 lih.). This is, incidentally, the only clue we possess as to the female divinities worshipped by the Dedanites. Turning to the Lihyanite texts, which are next in chronological order, we suddenly find ourselves confronted by Allah and his three daughters. Allah himself had rivals at Lihyan in the persons of Ba'al Samin and Kharaḥ dhu-Ghabat, but the only goddesses mentioned are Allāt, Manat, and al-'Uzza. Manat is invoked in the inscription JS177, and she also appears in name-formations. [6] A priest (*afkal*) of Allat appears in JS 277. The presence of al-'Uzza at Lihyan has hitherto not been confirmed, although a reference to her was suspected in JS 36. But my discovery that in Lihyanite the definite article is written *han* before words beginning with a guttural [7] has confirmed the reference in JS 36 by revealing the existence of another mention of this goddess in JS 58 under the form *han-'Uzza.* Thus the inscriptions offer no support to the assertion of Ibn al-Kalbi that al-'Uzza was of more recent origin that Allat and Manat. Among the Sabaeans she appears as *'Uzzayān,* among the Lihyanites as *han-'Uzzā,* among the Nabataeans as *'Uzzayā* and *al-'Uzzā,* and among the later Arabs as *al-'Uzzā.* Thus we now have evidence that the worship of Allah and his three daughters was flourishing in Arabia for a thousand years before Mohammed, if my dating of the Lihyanite inscriptions to the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. be correct. [8]

Turning now to the Thamudic inscriptions for testi-

[6] *'Abmanat* (JS 252), *'Abdmanat* (JS 8), *'Aidhmanat* (JS 139), *Ausmanat?* (JS 10), *Na'am(m)anat* (JS 238), *Qainmanat* (JS 367), *Shanfmanat* (JS 355), *Taim(m)anat* (JS 256), *Zaidmanat* (JS 63, 165, 209, 316, 362).

[7] See my *Study,* p. 16ff.

[8] See my *Study,* p. 50f. The question of the date of these inscriptions is, however, far from settled. In a letter dated March 16, 1939, Mr. W. W. Tarn gives good reasons for doubting my equation of Gashm b. Shahr with Geshem the Arab mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah, on which equation I had mainly relied for the dating of the inscriptions. He also draws my attention to the fact that the reference of Agatharchides and Diodorus to the Laeanitic gulf is no proof of an early date for the Lihyanites, since the name "Laeanitic" has nothing whatever to do with Lihyanites; it is only a variant of, *or* mistaken spelling of, Aelanitic." (Cp. my "Notes on the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions" in *Le Muséon,* LI, 309f.). Tarn believes that the Lihyanite kings fall in the Ptolemaic period and it must be admitted that there is some evidence in the inscriptions themselves to support such a belief.

mony to the worship of these goddesses, we find little trace of them in the two earlier types of Thamudic which I have labelled "A" and "B". There are just two Manat-names in "Thamudic A".[9] "Thamudic B" makes frequent appeal to Allah but seems to know nothing of his daughters.[10] In the other types of Thamudic two of the goddesses appear: Manat in type "D",[11] Allat in type "E".[12] Al-'Uzza appears nowhere in Thamudic. Her place is taken, in "Thamudic B" at least, by another goddess named *Ruḍaw.*

In the Nabataean inscriptions *Allah* does not appear, although numerous Nabataeans bear Allah-names.[13] Allah's daughters, however, appear several times. *Allat* is invoked in an inscription at al-'Ola (JS 212 nab.), at al-Hegr (CIS ii.198, where she is called "Allat from 'Amnad", if the reading be correct) and many times at Gebel Ramm (to the east of the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba) where there was a temple in her honor.[14] No references to her have been found at Petra, although two Petraeans at least bore Allat-names.[15] Farther north, in the Hauran, we know of two temples to her, one at Boṣra,[16] and the other at Ṣalḥad in the southern Gebel Druze.[17] The foundation of this latter temple in the seventeenth year of the Nabataean king Maliku b. Haretat is commemorated in the inscription CIS ii.182.[18]

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[9] *Nasa'manat* (JS 402), *Tilm(m)anat* or *Manatnatan* (JS 352). I formerly read *Allat* in JS 519, 521, but see my revised translation of these texts in *Le Muséon,* LI, p. 305.

[10] There may, however, be references to Allat in Hu. 89 [13], 281 [15], 300 [82], 642 [4], JS 368, 365. Perhaps the last text should rather be read: "May God (not Allat) undo (*sanna*) the witchcraft (*tawl*) of my reviler (*sābbi*) and I am Adad."

[11] *'Abdmanat* (JS 1, 584), *'Alakmanat* (JS 188), *Ausmanat* (Hu. 308 [2]). The authors of the "C" texts are distinguished by their godlessness, if one may judge by their names, very few of which have a theophoric appearance (cp. JS 19, 21, 22, 610, 619). The "D" texts are little better.

[12] JS 179, 596, 655, 670, 698, 728, and the T. J. Meek inscription. Only one Allat-name appears, viz., *Sa'dallat* (JS 27).

[13] To the list given in Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen,* I, add *Malakallat* (*Rev. bib.,* XLI, 591, no. 1, 2), and *Wahballas(th)* in the Greek inscription from G. Ramm (*Rev. bib.,* XLIV, 264).

[14] *Rev. bib.,* XLI, pp. 591-3, no. 1-3; XLII, pp. 408-422, no. 3, 5, 7-11, 13-15; cp. also the Greek inscription, p. 406, no. 2, where Allat is referred to simply as "the goddess"; XLIII, p. 574, no. 16; p. 577, no. 20; XLIV, p. 266. For a description of the temple see XLIV, pp. 245-278. It dates from the reign of the Nabataean king, Rabbel II (70-106 A. D.), so the inscriptions are presumably from this period or later.

[15] *Amatallat* (R. 837), *Shalamallat* (CIS ii.453). It is uncertain whether *Sh-q-y-l-t* (CIS ii.351, etc.) is an Allat-name.

[16] An inscription at G. Ramm refers to her as "the goddess Allat who is in Bosra", so she must have had a temple there.

[17] Cp. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale,* I, 107, 119.

[18] The reference is probably to Maliku II, dated by Kammerer to 40-71 A.D. His seventeenth year would therefore be 57 A.D. The *Corpus* gives it as 50 A.D., Cooke (*North Sem. Insc.,* p. 253) as 65 A.D. In any case, we perceive that at the time of Jesus of Nazareth and later the cult of this goddess was flourishing just across the Jordan.

There is a reference to "Allat and her *w-g-r*" (= ?) in CIS ii:183 (from Salhad), while in L 24 (also from Salhad) she is called "the mistress of the place" (*rubbat al-atar*). Another reference to her is to be found in CIS ii.170 (from Hebran, north-east of Bosra). The reading "Allat, the mother of the gods" in CIS ii.185 is without any foundation, as Clermont-Ganneau has pointed out (*Rev. d'arch.or.* ii, p. 374, n. 3; iv. p. 181).

The Safaitic inscriptions from the region southeast of Damascus mention only two goddesses, Allat [19] and Ruḍaw. Strange to say, there is not a single Allat-or Ruḍaw-name, as far as I am aware. I pointed out above that in "Thamudic E" (the type of Thamudic most closely related to Safaitic) only one Allat-name appears, although invocations to the goddess are comparatively frequent. Thus we perceive that in the regions where Allat was held in greatest reverence Allat-names are practically non-existent.

Farther north at Palmyra the cult of Allat had also established itself. Several goddesses were worshipped there but only Allat appears in name-formations. In fact, judging by the inscriptions, more Palmyrenes bore Allat-names than any other Arabic group. [20] Their nomenclature thus forms a striking contrast to that of the Safaites. In the inscription Vog. 8 = Cant. V. 8, dating from the year 129 A. D., there is a reference to "Shams and Allath and R-ḥ-m, the good divinities." Cant. VI.1 mentions a temple of Ishtar-Allath. There is possibly another mention of Allath in Can. II.1 [4] (cp. VI. p. 6).

Turning now to the goddess al-'Uzza, we find dedications to her at Gebel Ramm, [21] Petra, [22] Sinai, [23] and Bosra. [24] In two of these inscriptions, one at Petra (R.

[19] Allat is mentioned in the following Safaitic texts (a list which differs somewhat from that given by Ryckmans in his *Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 3; II, 31): D 89, 97a, 124, 225, 312, 323, 398, DM 30, 62, 141, 179, 191, 194, 198, 251 (=L 59), 284, 317, 318, 337, 397, 467, 497, 502, 503, 513, 517, 546, 547, 550a, 731, 732, 742, 774, 854, 857?, 283b (282 on Plate), 306, 307, Wd. 84a (=V. 110a), 115, 190, 327 (=V. 381), 328b, V 5a, 93b, 189, 191, 217, 218, 232, 234, 237, 323, 379, 389b, 402b?. If, with Dussaud, the dedications to Athene that occur in the Hauran be referred to Allat, the number of references to the goddess will be considerably increased. Certainly at Palmyra Allat and Athene were identified, for the name of the Palmyrene crown-prince, *Wahballath*, is rendered in Greek by *Athenodoros*.

[20] See Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*.

[21] Cp. *Rev. bib.*, XLII, p. 413, no. 4; XLIII, p. 575, no. 17.

[22] R. 1088.

[23] CIS ii.611=1236 (inscription by a priest (*kāhin*) of 'Uzzaya. A Sinai Arab bears the name 'Abd al-'Uzza (CIS ii.946).

[24] The inscription L 70 (from Bosra) calls 'Uzzaya "the goddess of Bos(ra)."

1088) and the other at Gebel Ramm (*Rev. bib.,* XLII, p. 413, no. 4), she is associated with a male deity called "the Lord of the house" (*mar baita*), who is probably to be identified with Dushara. The title "Lord of the house" seems to have been one that might be applied to any god. It is applied to B'êl Sh^{e}mîn in Cant. VI.9, and a very similar title is applied to Allah in Koran 106:3. Al-'Uzza was probably Dushara's associate here (I would not go so far as to say "consort"), just as Manat was farther south. Al-'Uzza was also very popular with the Lakhmids of al-Hira in Iraq.

Whereas the worship of Allat and al-'Uzza was widespread, the cult of Manat seems never to have spread outside of the Hegaz. There are eight references to Manat in Nabataean,[25] in all but one of which she is associated with Dushara, and there are four Nabataeans with Manat-names.[26] But it is significant that they all occur at al-Hegr. This goddess seems to have been of too local a character to appeal to the Arabs outside of the Hegaz. Her name, which seems to be connected with the root *manā,* "to determine, mete out", suggests that she was a goddess of Fortune. The Hebrew god M^{e}nî (whose name is derived from the same root) is associated in Isaiah 65:11 with a god of Fortune, Gad, suggesting that both bore a similar character. This in turn suggests that the Arabic goddess Manat should be placed in the same category. Buhl (*Enc. of Islam:* Manat) believes the name to be an Aramaic plural form similar to *m^{e}nāwātā,* plur. of *m^{e}nātā,* but the spelling of the name in the inscriptions, *m-n-t* in Lihyanite, *m-n-w-t-(u)* in Nabataean, suggests that it had a twofold pronunciation, *Manāt* among the Lihyanites, *Manōt(u)* among the Nabataeans. This theory is supported by the existence of two spellings in Moslem Arabic, *Manāt* and *M-n-w-t.* I believe the Arabic pronunciation *Manāt* to be the original one, since the goddess is definitely Arabic, and *Manōt* to represent a

[25] CIS ii.197 [5], 198 [4, 8], 206 [8], 217 [8], 224 [12], 320F, JS 142, 201.
[26] *'Abdmanotu* (JS 17 [3]), *Taimmanoti* (CIS ii.283, JS 92, 93). Cp. also *Abdomanos* in the Greek inscription at Gebel Ramm (*Rev. bib.,* XLIV.264).

later Aramaic-Nabataean form. The change from Arabic long $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{o}$ is a common phenomenon. Hence there is no need to explain the name as an Aramaic plural.

The question now arises, Is it possible to discover anything about the origin of these goddesses and their relationship to one another? In seeking to formulate a reply to this question we may begin with the observation made above that while at Lihyan all three goddesses are mentioned, only Manat is used in name-composition. We meet several instances of names like 'Abd-manat, Zaid-manat, Taim-manat, etc., but we do not meet a single instance of a name like 'Abd-allat or 'Abd-han-'Uzza. When I first noticed this peculiarity I concluded that *Allat,* "the goddess", and *han-'Uzza,* "the mighty one", were mere epithets of Manat. I was supported in this conclusion by the assertion of Ibn al-Kalbi that Manat was the oldest deity whose worship gave rise to that of the others, an assertion based on the contention that Manat-names occur earlier than Allat- or al-'Uzza-names. The history of religion shows that the qualities and titles ascribed to a deity do sometimes tend to develop into separate beings. But further consideration has convinced me that my first inference was incorrect. For when the name Allat appears in Lihyanite it is already a proper name. If the Lihyanites had possessed any consciousness that it was an appellative they would have spelled the name *han-ilat*, "the goddess" (just as they converted *al-'Uzza* into *han-'Uzza*), whereas they actually spelled it *l-t.* [27] And if it is already a proper name when it appears in Lihyanite, it cannot have been a title of the local goddess Manat. That han-'Uzza had likewise no connection with Manat will become apparent as we proceed. The absence of Allat- and han-'Uzza-names in Lihyanite is therefore to be explained by the assumption that they were of foreign (i.e., non-Lihyanite) origin.

If they were foreign, the question arises, Where did

[27] It happens that *Allat* and *Allah* appear in Lihyanite only in close connection with a preceding word or particle; hence the initial *alif* is always omitted in accordance with the general practice of Lihyanite spelling which never indicates any more than it has to.

they come from? According to the generally accepted theory which regards *Allāt* as a contraction of *al-ilāt* from an original *al-ilāhat,* this goddess must have originated among a group of Arabs who spoke a dialect employing the article *al.* Our epigraphical evidence shows that this cannot have been a group in Southern or Central Arabia, the Northern Hegaz, Transjordan, nor the Safa area of Syria. For the Southern Arabs employed the affix-*ān* as an article, the Nabataeans of Transjordan employed the Aramaic affix-*ā,* while in all the other regions mentioned the article was *ha.* There was one district, however, where the article *al* was used, and that was Sinai. According to Cantineau (*Le Nabatéen,* I, 61) the second and third century A. D. Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai show a remarkable number of proper names beginning with the article *al.*[28] That this article had been employed there as early as the fifth century B. C. would seem to be attested by the statement of Herodotus (iii.8) that the Arabs of Sinai worshipped a goddess named *Alilat,* which is simply a transcription of the Arabic *al-ilāt,* meaning "the goddess". That the form *ilāt* was used as well as the form *ilāhat* is shown by an inscription from al-Hasa (*Le Muséon,* L, 239f.) where we meet the name *Aushanilat,* "the Gift of the Goddess". The few Hebrew words employing the article *al* (viz. *el-gābîsh,* Ezek. xiii:11, 13; xxxviii:22; *al-qûm,* Prov. xxx:31) were probably derived from the Arabs of Sinai but, regarded as evidence for the antiquity of this form, scarcely carry us back beyond Herodotus.

Thus if we adopt the ordinary etymology of *Allāt* and *Allāh* as contractions of *al-ilāt,* "the goddess", and *al-ilāh,* "the god", we are forced to the conclusion that they both originated among the Arabs of Sinai. Yahweh may have come from Sinai, but the Arabs of Sinai are not exactly the type of people we should expect to have produced Allah and Allat as well. Furthermore, such a conclusion would

[28] Outside of Sinai we meet the article *al* very rarely: in the Lihyanite inscription JS 77, in the Nabataean inscription JS 17 (from al-Hegr, 267 A.D.), and the Safaitic inscription L 24 (from Salhad).

be entirely at variance with the geographical distribution of the inscriptions. Allah, as we have seen, is not actually invoked in any Nabataean inscription, although numerous Nabataeans bear Allah-names. And as for Allat, the majority of the references to her are to be found in the Safaitic inscriptions from Syria, while the majority of Allat-names occur farther north in Palmyrene. These facts suggest that the real home of the goddess was in Syria. If this be so, it is highly probable that *Allāt* represents a contraction of Aramaic *Allāhᵉtā,* "the goddess", and *Allāh* a contraction of Aramaic *Allᵉhā,* "the god". The words were arabicized by the dropping of the determinative affix *-ā.* [29] From Syria the cults of these two divinities spread down through the Hauran into Nabataea, Sinai, and Lihyan, where the Southern Arabs made their acquaintance and carried Allat home to the Yemen.

The goddess al-'Uzza, on the other hand, is probably of genuinely Sinaitic origin. The form of her name, with the article *al,* would suggest that. We know too that her worship held a prominent place in this region, for in Jerome's *Life of St. Hilarion,* chap. 25, occurs this passage:

"With a great company of monks he reached Elusa, as it happened, on the day when the annual festival had brought all the people together to the temple of Venus. This goddess is worshipped on account of Lucifer to whom the Saracen nation is devoted." [30]

Elusa, the centre of this festival of Venus, would seem to be simply a Latin transcription of the Arabic name *al-'Uzza.* The full name of the place was probably something like *Bait al-'Uzza,* "the House of al-'Uzza". If this explanation of the name be correct, we have good grounds for identifying al-'Uzza with Venus, the evening star, although from Jerome's reference to Lucifer one would infer that

[29] Ryckmans (*Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques*), following Nielsen, regards the words as Arabic common nouns without the article raised to the dignity of proper names, for he renders *Allah* by *Ilah,* and *Allat* by *Ilat* or *Lat.* But the Greek transliterations of Allat-names, as well as the spelling in Moslem Arabic, show the first vowel was pronounced as an "a", not as an "i". I know of only two instances where the Greek transliterations suggest an "i". For my arguments for a Syrian origin for Allah, see my article "Allah before Islam" in the MOSLEM WORLD, XXVIII, 239ff., and note the interesting remarks of Littmann on the Syriac pronunciation of the word for *God* in his *Syriac Inscriptions* (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria), 1934, pp. X-XI.

[30] *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers,* 2nd Series, vol. vi. p. 309.

it was in her morning-star aspect that she was especially revered. [31] This accords with the statement of Theodolus, the son of Nilus, that the Arabs of Sinai "knew no god either of spirit or made with hands, but worshipped the morning star." The antiquity of the worship of Venus in this region is attested by Herodotus (i.105) who says that the temple of Aphrodite (i.e., Venus-Astarte) at Askalon was the oldest temple of this goddess. In the light of the above, it seems more likely that the *Alilat* ("the goddess") of Herodotus should be taken as referring to al-'Uzza rather than to Allat. This theory receives support from the fact that in another passage (i.131) Herodotus gives the name of the goddess as *Alitta,* a reading which has usually been regarded as a corruption of *Alilat* under the influence of the preceding *Mylitta,* but which has a suspicious resemblance to the sound of *al-'Uzza.* Perhaps the corruption goes back to Herodotus himself who may have thought he detected a similarity in the Arabic and Assyrian names for the goddess. [32] Syrian writers refer to Venus simply as "the (female) Star" (*Kaukabta*), the star *par excellence.* Cumont (*Syria,* 1927, p. 368) gives evidence that some of the Arabs called her *Kabīr* (a masculine form), but her usual name in Arabic was al-'Uzza, "the mighty one", i.e., the brightest of the stars. [33]

Having identified al-'Uzza, we have at the same time identified Ruḍaw, for there can be little doubt that Ruḍaw is the Thamudic and Safaitic equivalent of al-'Uzza. We are now in a much better position to attempt the identification of Allat. Two theories as to her identity have hitherto

[31] The festival mentioned by Epiphanius (*Panarion,* li, text and translation by Barton in *Hebraica,* X, p. 60f.) as being celebrated at Elusa and also at Petra and Alexandria was a different one, held in honor of the Nabataean sun-god Dusares and his virgin mother Kaaba. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage,* p. 298, regarded them as the same and hence identified the virgin Kaaba with Allat, but there seems little to support such an identification. Smith was unduly influenced by the supposed reference to Allat in CIS ii.185 as "the mother of the gods", for which translation, however, there is no basis in the original.

[32] If *Alilat* be Venus, then it is highly probable that *Orotalt,* Herodotus' transcription of the name of the male deity worshipped by the Sinaites, is the Sun-God. That it cannot be the Moon will be demonstrated below. Many attempts have been made to provide a satisfactory etymology for this name (see, e.g., S. A. Cook's note in W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 3rd ed., p. 603), none of which have met with much approval. Of one thing we may be sure, this name is preserved somewhere in the Nabataean nomenclature. My own feeling is that the *l* in the name is not proper to the Arabic form, because otherwise we are left with an unheard-of Arabic root. If we omit the *l* in Orotalt, we are left with *Orotat,* a form which has a very close resemblance to the royal Nabataean name *Ḥaretat.* The kings may have adopted the name of the Sun-god.

[33] Ryckmans (*op. cit.,* I, p. 26) regards al-'Uzza as the Sun-goddess.

been proposed. According to Robertson Smith (*Kinship,* p. 295), Barton (*Semitic and Hamitic Origins,* p. 218), Dussaud (*Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam,* p. 131), and Ryckmans (*Les Noms propres,* I, 3) she is Venus-al-'Uzza under another name. According to Hommel (*Grundriss,* p. 149), Nielsen (*Handbuch,* p. 197, 224), Buhl (*Enc. of Islam,* s. v. al-Lat), and S. A. Cook (note to W. R. Smith, *Relig. of Semites,* 3rd edit., p. 520) she is the Sun-goddess. According to the first theory, Allat and al-'Uzza are two different epithets of Venus which have arisen in two different regions (cp. Wellhausen, *Reste,* p. 44). But this theory fails to account for the fact that when the two names were used in the same region later on there is never any indication that they referred to the same planetary deity. Dussaud's view is that all divinities identified with the planet Venus were divided into two hypostases, one representing the morning star, the other the evening star. Therefore Allat represents one of these hypostases, al-'Uzza the other.

The advocates of the Sun-goddess theory have probably been influenced by the fact that the word for "sun" in Arabic, *shams,* is feminine. But that Allat cannot be the Sun-deity is shown by the Safaitic inscription DM 513 and the Palmyrene inscription Vog. 8 (=Cant. V. 8) where Allat and Shams are distinguished. In spite of the gender of the word *shams* in Moslem Arabic,[34] the Sun-deity seems to have been regarded as masculine in North Arabia, although feminine in the South. Among the Nabataeans the Sun was a masculine deity called Dushara (Lat. Dusares). That Dushara was a Sun-god is clear from the statement of Epiphanius that his birthday was celebrated on December 25. Among the Palmyrenes also the Sun was masculine. In view of all this it is unlikely that Allat is to be identified with the Sun.

My own conviction is that Allat was the Moon-goddess. Strange to say, this theory has never been propounded as far as I am aware except by Cooke (*North Semitic*

[34] It may be that the name of the natural object was given a different gender from the divinity who resided in it.

Inscriptions, p. 222). Perhaps the reason why this possibility has been so largely ignored is due to the erroneous idea that the Moon, everywhere and always, was a masculine deity. It is true that the Moon was regarded as masculine in South Arabia, but that very fact should make us suspect that in North Arabia it would be feminine, because, for some strange reason, the genders of the deities in the two regions seem to be always opposite. Concrete evidence that in the North the Moon was regarded as feminine will be found in the following facts:

1. One of the northern centres of Moon-worship was called *Sinai,* a name which is manifestly an Arabic feminine form of *Sin.* I do not believe that anyone has adequately accounted for the use of this feminine form, but if in this region the Moon was regarded as feminine we can understand why the Babylonian name of the Moon-god was changed into a feminine form. Mt. Sinai was therefore a centre of the worship of the Moon-goddess, not of the Moon-god. Hence Burney's attempt [35] to connect Yahweh with the Moon-god is deprived of all foundation. Jarvis (*Yesterday and To-day in Sinai,* p. 171) identifies Mt. Sinai with Gebel Hellal, thirty miles south of Beersheba, and derives the name *Hellal* from Arab. *ḥalāl,* "lawful". But one wonders if it should not rather be connected with *hilāl,* "the new moon", a derivation which would strengthen Jarvis' identification of this mountain with Sinai.

2. On coins of Gaza from the year 131 A. D. the Moon appears as a goddess (named Io). [36]

3. In Palestinian excavations a great many horned "Astarte" figurines have been found. But as my teacher and colleague, Professor W. R. Taylor, has pointed out to me, these are not Astarte images at all (except in so far as the term "Astarte" is used as the equivalent of "goddess") but images of the Moon-goddess. [37] There was no reason for providing Astarte-Venus with horns, but

[35] *Commentary on Judges,* pp. 249-253.
[36] S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine,* p. 182.
[37] Lucian, *The Syrian Goddess,* p. 4, believed that the Astarte of Sidon was the moon-goddess. Was she another "horned Astarte"?

every reason for depicting the Moon-goddess with them. These figurines provide strong evidence that in this part of the Semitic world the Moon was regarded as feminine. It seems very likely, then, that the place-name *Ashtaroth-qarnaim* or *Ashtart-qarnaim* mentioned in Genesis xiv.5 should be understood as referring to the Moon-goddess. This spot was "(the place of) the horned Ashtart", so-called to distinguish her from the Venus-Ashtart, the word *'ashtart* being here used with the meaning of "goddess", just as *ishtar* is in late Babylonian.

Having attempted to dispel the idea that the Moon was regarded as masculine in the North, let me present some further considerations in support of my identification of Allat with the Moon-goddess. In the first place, it would be very strange if the Arabs worshipped the Sun and Venus but ignored the Moon. We know, of course, that the Southern Arabs worshipped the Moon, the Sabaeans calling him *Almaqah*, the Minaeans *Wadd*, the Qatabanians *'Amm*, the Hadramautis *Sin*, but unless we identify Allat with the Moon we have no evidence of the worship of this heavenly body in North Arabia.[38] A very striking bit of evidence in support of an equation with the Moon is provided by the Lihyanite inscription JS 277 which reads as follows, "This is 'Alīm the priest (*afkal*) of Allat". Here above the name of Allat the name of the Minaean Moon-god, Wadd, has been scratched. There can be no doubt but that the insertion was intentional, possibly put there by the priest himself to draw the attention of Minaean traders to the fact that the deity worshipped in this shrine was the equivalent of their own Wadd. The priest no doubt hoped in this manner to increase the patronage of his shrine.

Another bit of evidence in support of my Moon theory is that the betyls of Allat discovered by Père Savignac at al-Hegr and at Gebel Ramm are characterized by horns projecting from each side of the stone block.[39] Their

[38] i.e., no inscriptional evidence, although literary sources mention tribes with names like the *Banū Hilāl*, "sons of the crescent moon", the *Banū Badr*, "sons of the full moon", etc., which point to the existence of Moon-worship.

[39] See the illustrations of these betyls in *Rev. bib.*, XLIII, Plates XXXVIII, XXXIX, and Figs. 6 and 7. For betyls of al-'Uzza see Plates XXXVI and Figs. 9-11.

crescent shape suggests that the goddess was a Moon-divinity.

If Allat be the Moon-goddess, we can now understand why her worship is always found associated with that of another goddess, in the Nabataean area with al-'Uzza, in the Thamudic and Safaitic area with Ruḍaw. The Moon and Venus are associated in the sky, so it was natural that they should be associated in the astral religions of earth. Proof of their association in Arabian religion is furnished by the numerous monuments illustrated by Grohmann in his "Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf südarabischen Denkmälern" [40] where we see the crescent-moon and Venus-star carved on the face of altars and other cultic objects. The antiquity of this association is attested by Babylonian seals, some of which are given by Grohmann, p. 47. Its persistence to a late period is shown from the statement of Ephraem Syrus that the Arabs set "the waning Moon with Venus . . . . in the street as an adulteress. They name a pair of women among the planets." [41] We are now in a position to understand a couple of Sabaean inscriptions which have hitherto presented a problem. The first is CIH 548 where we meet (v. 4) with a reference to *Allat-'Athtar*. Scholars have been inclined to regard the coupling of the two names here as an indication that Allat was identical with 'Athtar. But it now appears more probable that what we have is a reference to the Moon and Venus. The other inscription is CIH 557 where the name *'Azīz-Allat* occurs (vv. 1f., 7f.). Here the North Arabian name of Venus, viz., al-'Uzza, has been changed to the masculine form 'Azīz to accord with Southern ideas as to the gender of this deity. [42] The Moon, however, has been allowed to retain its Northern feminine name. We have seen above that the name Allat had gained a foothold in the South in the later period. The Moon and Venus appear in association away to the North

[40] Published in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 58 Band, 1914, pp. 37-44.

[41] For the Syriac text and translation see Barton, *Hebraica*, X, 58f.

[42] At Palmyra also Venus is masculine, appearing under the names of *'Azīz* and *Arṣu*, the masculine forms of al-'Uzza and Ruḍaw respectively. On the worship of 'Azīz at Edessa and on *Lucifer* as one of his titles, see W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 302.

also, at Palmyra, where we have a reference to *Ishtar-Allath.*

Concerning the nature of the worship offered to these goddesses we know little. According to the Christian writer Ephrem Syrus, it was an impure worship, similar to that offered to Ishtar by the Chaldaeans of Babylon. "He represents the goddess herself [evidently al-'Uzza] as an adulteress, her devotees as not regulating marriage even as the birds do and her festivals as times when virgins prostituted themselves." (Barton). "Where", asks Ephrem, "are the wild feasts and the tinkling bells and the dice-playing and the public bidding of the Chaldaeans? Who did away with the feast of the raging idol on whose festal day women prostituted themselves?" The usual sacrificial victim presented to the goddesses was no doubt a sheep, goat, or camel, but we know that occasionally human sacrifices were offered to al-'Uzza. Nilus tells how the young Theodolus had a narrow escape from being sacrificed to the morning star by some Sinai Arabs. He had been taken prisoner and was to be sacrificed at dawn, but the Arabs overslept and so his life was spared. Mundhir IV of al-Hira is said to have sacrificed to al-'Uzza four hundred captured nuns and the son of the Ghassanid Harith whom he had taken prisoner. Evidently al-'Uzza fulfilled the function of a war-goddess, among other things, like Ishtar of Babylon.

We do not know with certainty where the original sanctuaries of these goddesses were located, but the evidence points to the home of Allat having been in Syria, that of al-'Uzza in Sinai, and that of Manat in the neighborhood of Dedan in the Hejaz. Thus the doubts which we expressed at the beginning of this article as to the antiquity of the sanctuaries near Mekka mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbi seem justified. From the north the cults of these goddesses spread southward and eventually gained a foothold in the sanctuary dedicated to Allah at Mekka. Manat was probably the first to gain an entrance to the Ka'ba, for she had a place in the pagan *hajj* ceremonies.

But in time her position was successfully challenged by al-'Uzza. It was al-'Uzza who was held in greatest esteem by the Mekkans in the time of Mohammed. [43]

Mohammed, convinced of the truth of the monotheistic conception, attacked the prevailing polytheism with vigor. "Bend not in adoration to the sun or the moon," he says, "but bend in adoration before Allah who created them both" (43:37). The sun, moon and "the star" (*an-nagm*) themselves bow down before the All-Merciful (55:4f.). As an illustration of the folly of paying worship to the heavenly bodies, Mohammed tells them a story of how Abraham was tempted to worship the star, and the moon, and the sun, [44] but was saved from this error by Allah, who guided him to the true religion.

"When the night came down upon him, he saw a star; said he: 'This is my Lord,' but when it vanished, he said: 'I love not the things which vanish.' Then when he saw the moon shining forth, he said: 'This is my Lord,' but when it vanished, he said: 'Truly, if my Lord guide me not, I shall be of the people who go astray.' Then when he saw the sun shining forth, he said: 'This is my Lord, this is greater,' but when it vanished, he said: 'O my people, I am quit of what ye associate (with Allah). I have set my face towards Him who opened up the heavens and the earth, as a Hanif [monotheist] and I am not one of the Polytheists.'" (6:76-79, Bell's translation.)

Tradition relates that on one occasion in the early days of his preaching, when faced with severe persecution, the prophet was prompted by Satan to admit the existence and intercessory power of the three goddesses. To the genuine revelation, "Do you see Allat and al-'Uzza, and Manat, the third, the other one?", Satan added, "Verily they are exalted damsels, and their intercession may be expected." But Mohammed soon renounced all compromise with paganism and this verse was removed from the Koran.

Once Mohammed was seated securely on the throne of the Hejaz, he took measures to dispose of the hated goddesses, rivals of Allah in the hearts of the people.

[43] On the traditions regarding the sacred doves and gazelles (regular accompaniments of Astarte cults) of the Ka'ba, see Barton, *Hebraica*, X, 60ff., and W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, p. 229, 244).

[44] Note that the order of mention is the same as in the South Arabian inscriptions.

Armed forces were dispatched to Nakhla, Qudaid, and Ta'if, and their sanctuaries torn down. It is related that when the iconoclasts arrived at Ta'if the inhabitants of the town begged them to spare their beloved Allat for three years, or even for a month. But the request was refused. And on the site where the betyl of the goddess had formerly stood, the minaret of the Islamic mosque arose, a visible sign to all who passed by of the triumph of Allah and his prophet. A new era had begun. But may it not be that in the Crescent-and-Star which still adorns the political flags of the Arab countries, we have a survival of the sacred banner of the old Arabian paganism?

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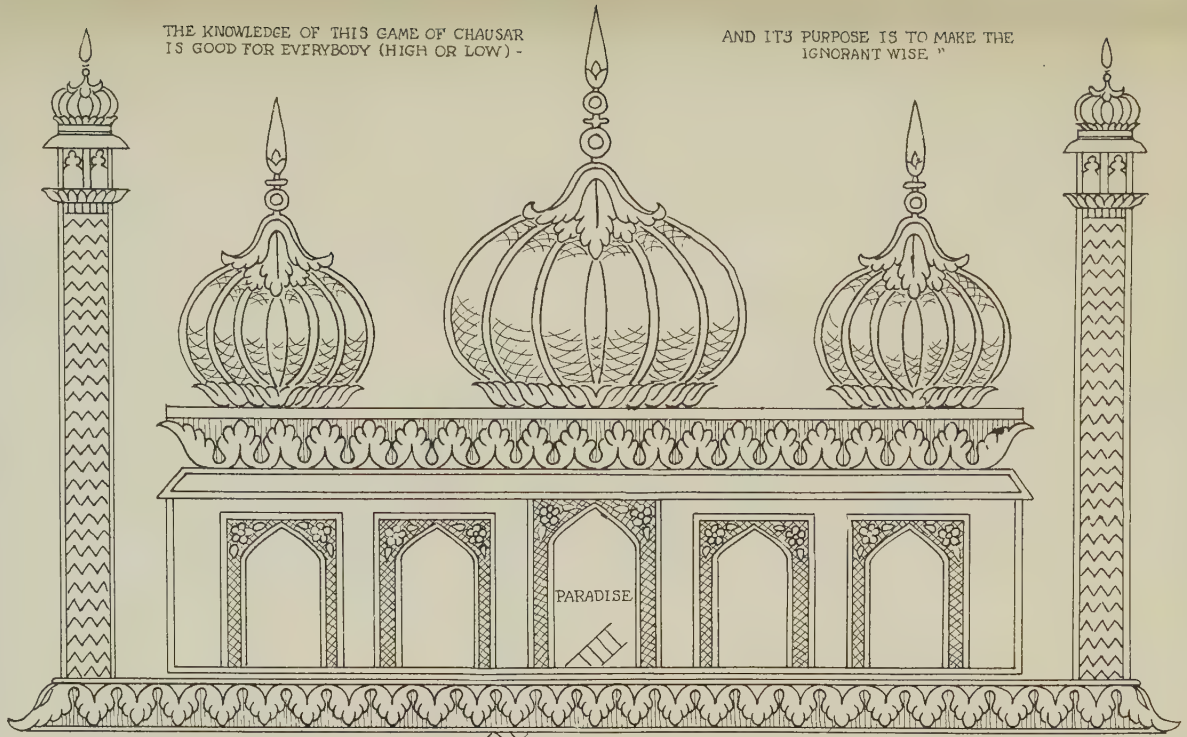
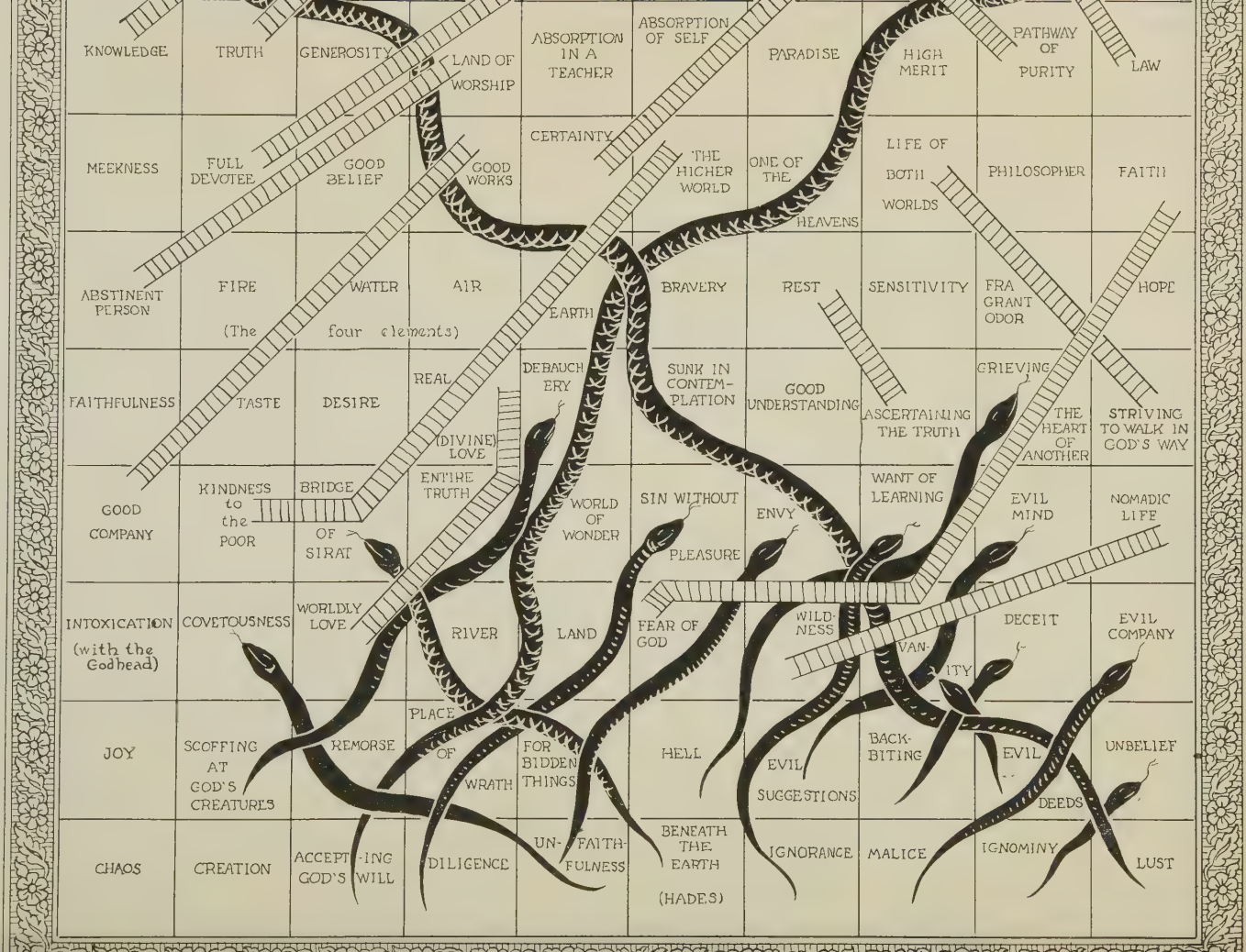
THE KNOWLEDGE OF THIS GAME OF CHAUSAR
IS GOOD FOR EVERYBODY (HIGH OR LOW) -

AND ITS PURPOSE IS TO MAKE THE
IGNORANT WISE."



SATANIC PRIDE	LAND OF AZRAEL	LAND OF MICHAEL	LAND OF ABRAHAM	THE BLESSED PLACE	PLACE OF (God's) THRONE	COUNTRY OF MOHAMMED	LAND OF GABRIEL	LAND OF ESRAPHIEL	CARNAL PRIDE
SPIRIT	EXTINCTION	DOMINION	EXTINCTION in GOD	EXTINCTION in the APOSTLE	SEAL OF PROPHECY	POSSESSION	ANGELIC NATURE	HUMANITY	MARTYRDOM


KNOWLEDGE
TRUTH
GENEROSITY
LAND OF WORSHIP
ABSORPTION IN A TEACHER
ABSORPTION OF SELF
PARADISE
HIGH MERIT
PATHWAY OF PURITY
LAW
MEEKNESS
FULL DEVOTEE
GOOD BELIEF
GOOD WORKS
CERTAINTY
THE HIGHER WORLD
ONE OF THE HEAVENS
LIFE OF BOTH WORLDS
PHILOSOPHER
FAITH
ABSTINENT PERSON
FIRE
WATER
AIR
EARTH
(The four elements)
BRAVERY
REST
SENSITIVITY
FRAGRANT ODOR
HOPE
FAITHFULNESS
TASTE
DESIRE
REAL (DIVINE) LOVE
DEBAUCHERY
SUNK IN CONTEMPLATION
GOOD UNDERSTANDING
ASCERTAINING THE TRUTH
GRIEVING
THE HEART OF ANOTHER
STRIVING TO WALK IN GOD'S WAY
GOOD COMPANY
KINDNESS to the POOR
BRIDGE OF SIRAT
ENTIRE TRUTH
WORLD OF WONDER
SIN WITHOUT PLEASURE
ENVY
WANT OF LEARNING
EVIL MIND
NOMADIC LIFE
INTOXICATION (with the Godhead)
COVETOUSNESS
WORLDLY LOVE
RIVER
LAND
FEAR OF GOD
WILDNESS
VANITY
DECEIT
EVIL COMPANY
JOY
SCOFFING AT GOD'S CREATURES
REMORSE
PLACE OF WRATH
FORBIDDEN THINGS
HELL
EVIL SUGGESTIONS
BACKBITING
EVIL DEEDS
UNBELIEF
CHAOS
CREATION
ACCEPTING GOD'S WILL
DILIGENCE
UNFAITHFULNESS
BENEATH THE EARTH (HADES)
IGNORANCE
MALICE
IGNOMINY
LUST

FRIENDS OF THE MUSLIMS

The sincere Muslim is a religious man. The message of the Christian to the sincere Muslim concerns an addition to the religious life, which addition the Christian has found in Christ. The successful mediation of this message is the crucial problem of Christian-Muslim relations. What contribution can we make toward its solution? Faced by such a challenge, let us examine our hearts, our past, and then our problem.

If we, or Christians anywhere, have thought of the Muslims as traditional enemies and have grown up with repellent feelings toward them, even hatred, in our hearts, it is high time that we examine ourselves in the light of the Gospel. "Love the Muslims" should not seem to us a new teaching. If, however, love should be declared impossible in view of what has happened in the past, we should remember that Muslims also have bitter memories of wrongs suffered by themselves at the hands of men who bore the Christian name. And we must recall the true nature of Christian love, that it is not a pleasurable feeling called forth by an agreeable object, but a spiritual irradiation that energizes of its own proper dynamic toward all.

There have been long periods when such love was not characteristic of Christendom. Even men who expressed regret that there should be armed conflict with the Muslims urged "fighting them with words," though it was said that this should be done "in love." The purpose was to prove the Muslims in error, to break and to destroy their power, to compel them to acknowledge defeat, to force surrender. Behind these acts of warfare we cannot but recognize the spirit of war. Convinced of its own superiority, this spirit denounces and depreciates the other party, magnifies its

evils and its weaknesses, views it always in an unfavorable light, rejoices at news of its failure or misfortune or at indications of the disintegration of its strength. The literature of Christian-Muslim relations is full of expressions of this spirit. Certainly these ways and this spirit must be renounced, if we are to treat the Muslims henceforth as friend would treat friend.

Friendship toward the Muslims will express itself in deeds of helpfulness. There may be many advantages enjoyed by the nominally Christian peoples which those who are Muslim by inheritance would be glad to make their own—discoveries, inventions, manufactures, new methods in agriculture, in education, in care of the sick. True friendliness will desire that all these things should be placed at their disposal. Muslim nations may reach out to obtain them themselves or may invite assistance, as when Turkey selects new laws for itself from among the codes of the western nations or employs Americans to superintend the development of its cotton industry or invites them to advise in the organization of its educational system. But Christian friendliness may go further, and may offer cooperation in any wished-for line. It is conceivable, indeed, that a representative Christian body, imbued with the purpose of showing friendship toward the Muslims, should sponsor a Bureau of Service to Muslims, with the sole task of putting any group of Muslims anywhere in the way of securing the supply of any needs which it may feel and may express, which the resources of the Christian peoples can meet.

Such helpfulness may be (and is being) undertaken according to ability by Christian missionary organizations now active among Muslims, and its significance may be very great, whether as an expression of the true Christian spirit or as a witness by deeds rather than by words to what Christ does in producing a new, disinterested, unselfish human nature. But it has its dangers. The missionary may openly regard the service rendered as a means of bringing those assisted under Christian instruction, or he may regard it as a screen to bring men under Christian

influence while they are unaware. In either case he must realize that the Muslim is suspicious of this very purpose in every act of friendship on the missionary's part and in all the medical, educational and philanthropic activities of any Christian mission. Therefore he steels himself against them all and warns others lest they become ensnared.

This deplorable situation is to be met only by absolute sincerity of motive in Christian helpfulness, assistance being rendered with a perfect intention to serve the recipient's need, and by a clear and open statement of the missionary's spiritual purpose, going to the heart of the Muslim's suspicion. For if the suspicion is correct, let the aim of the missionary be brought out into the open, confessed on the one hand and understood on the other. Then the air will be cleared and we shall know where we stand. The Muslim respects an avowed and honest rival, however mistaken he may think him. He may even tell the Christian that there are honorable and legitimate ways in which to conduct his propaganda. But insincerity and concealed ulterior purposes are to him open to reproach. If, however, the missionary would declare the suspicion of the Muslim unfounded, he runs into other dangers. There is the temptation that he should regard helpful service as fulfilling his missionary responsibility, and absolve himself from the delivery of any spiritual message. Or he may regard the service as itself the message, without any spoken witness to his Lord. Is there not possible some clear statement of spiritual objective that will dispel suspicion of hostile intent?

Certainly we have nothing but excuses to offer, if we show ourselves unwilling or afraid to act in perfect love.

As friendship bids us lay aside the appeal to force, let us lay aside also the traditional appeals to authority, to reason, and to advantage, in support of the Christian witness, and let our recourse be to experience and experiment.

In the past, both Christian and Muslim have depended on the same types of appeal: the authority of a holy Book,

which must be recognized; the finality of reason, demonstrating one position true and right and that of the opponent wrong; the advantages accruing to those who acquiesce and the loss to those who obstinately refuse assent.

These types of appeal, however justified they may have appeared and whatever their inherent worth, have served to keep alive the spirit of hostility and combat through a long literature of mutual polemic controversy. This in itself is reason enough why they should be laid aside in the case of those toward whom we would act as friends. And there is further reason, because it is to be questioned whether by their use the spiritual ends which we as Christians have at heart are really fostered. Long ago one who urged fighting the Muslims "with words in love" voiced also regret that, if the weapons of argument should prove successful, the result would be only a sort of compulsory acceptance and not the free faith of the heart. Certainly the Spirit of Love will slough off everything in Christian-Muslim relations which is not in accord with its own nature. And we shall be compelled to ask ourselves whether the mind of the Spirit has come to free expression in these controversies.

But objections are ready. "Shall we not then have capitulated?" Not at all. "What will be left for us to say?" Perhaps everything that is of primary importance. Simply, we shall have relinquished the methods relied on by the Middle Ages and the outlook of Scholasticism for the methods and vision of the laboratory, where men are not interested in conquering each other but in exploring together the nature of the universe and in discovering new possibilities of human service. "But are we not to defend the truth? Is it not the sword of the Spirit, and are we not to wield it? Does not the truth set men free? Must not truth triumph over error? If truth or any instrumentality is used in love, will it not be for the benefit of those who err?" This has been the viewpoint prevailingly of Christians in the past. But hear the Qur'an also declaring: "Truth is come and falsehood shall vanish and return no

more" (xxxiv:49). "We will hurl the truth at falsehood and it shall smite it, and lo! it shall vanish" (xxi:18). With both sides making similar claims and assertions, what can be expected but controversy? If a solution is to be arrived at, must not the problem of Christian-Muslim relations be approached on a different level?

A survey of the attitudes adopted historically by the various groups of the Christian church toward Islam yields generalizations that are in this connection of great significance. The Oriental churches took up an attitude of self-defence. The Western (Roman) church undertook an offensive, to free the Oriental churches and to overcome and ultimately destroy the forces of Islam. The monastic orders, as an integral part of the Western church, shared its attitude, and this aggressive purpose furnished the background for the missionary efforts toward the Muslims made during the Middle Ages. The Protestant Reformation has been described as a movement from "religions of authority" toward "religion of the spirit", but the movement worked only a partial release, for Protestantism remained predominantly a "religion of authority", the Bible being substituted for the Church. It was in keeping with this arrested development that the Protestant churches took over the Western attitude toward Islam, to which indeed the Turkish attack on east-central Europe gave justification and impetus. This attitude has thus remained at the root of most Protestant missionary efforts as regards the Muslims. A truly Protestant theory of missionary activity toward Muslims, centering about and expressing the conception of "religion of the spirit" is still to be formulated. Such an approach will be defined primarily in terms of spiritual experience.

Let us then attempt an analysis of the factors of our problem—religion, Islam, Christianity—in terms of spiritual experience, that is, in terms of spiritual activity, vital, personal, functional, dynamic, rather than according to the established categories of belief and practice. Let us ask, not "What does this man—religious, Muslim, Christian—

think and believe?" not "What does he approve and practice?" but "What are the inner activities that characterize him as a religious personality, a Muslim, a Christian?" Here we may come upon common denominators that will facilitate our efforts.

The practically universal definition of religions as systems of belief and practice is really a description of the religions in terms of the psychological and social forms of self-expression assumed in them by an underlying personal activity. The natural and unavoidable differences marking individuals and groups in such self-expression are the basal explanation of the variations found to exist among the religions, and also in a Christian-Muslim controversy. If being a religious person is finally a matter of belief and practice, such controversy is inevitable.

But fortunately we may investigate religions from the point of view of the personal activity which so expresses itself, the inner life. The content of this inner life appears to be twofold as the individual is recipient or active. The impacts to which he reacts are as manifold as man's environment, and unpredictable. But the human reactions, what one does in the inner life when he acts religiously, this comes within our observation and can be studied.

These receptive and active religious reactions of the individual toward his environment are what we call in common language trust and obedience toward God. We can trace the rise and development of these reactions in the relations of the child to its mother, and then to its immediate elders. As personality develops, these attitudes are transferred to the content of the child's mental life, and when the idea of a Superior Being emerges, he may begin to exercise trust and obedience toward Him. Since this idea is a part of what the individual comes to regard as truth concerning his environment, we may describe these attitudes in the most rudimentary terms as openness and obedience to truth. This we may call the elementary formula of natural religiousness. It is as a man functions in these ways in his inner life that he is acting religiously in

the last analysis. And as we weigh the issues that depend on the presence or absence of these reactions, we realize that for the man who fails so to function there is no hope.

Islam as a religion is commonly described as consisting of belief (*iman*) and practice (*din*), but there are not lacking deeper characterizations of the sincere Muslim, the man who is surrendered (*muslim*). Over and over again in the Qur'an he is declared to be one who believes and who does the things that are right (xix:60, 96; xcviii:6). His prototype is Abraham who surrendered himself to the will of his Lord, that is, trusted Him and obeyed Him (xxxvii: 103). He was neither Jew nor Christian in belief and practice, yet he was made a model (*imam*) to mankind (iii:67; ii:124). Muhammad and the Muslims are to be like him, of his *millat* (xvi:123; vi:161). The similarity of the lines in this picture and in that just drawn of the naturally religious man will not fail to attract attention. Also we recall that Jew and Christian as well as Muslim have called Abraham "the friend of God". (II Chronicles 20:7; Isaiah 41:8; James 2:23; Qur'an iv:125.) When the Qur'an says that the pathway marked out by Abraham is the established religion (*din i qa'im*), which God made for man and for which God made man, which alone God will accept from man (xxx:30; iii:85), are we not in the presence of insight into essential truth? Like Paul, though with so different a background, Muhammad found in Abraham, the man of faith, a spiritual antecedent for all those who have faith.

With the man who is truly *muslim* and with all vitally religious men the Christian finds common ground in these activities of the inner life, openness and obedience toward truth, trust and obedience toward God. Not every religious man is a Christian, but no one can be a Christian who is not a religious man. It is true that a man may become a Christian at a bound from an irreligious life, but a two-fold process is involved. To the facts of the religious experience of humanity as such there has been added a definite and new increment, a spiritual experience that men have

found in Christ. The content of the addition may be studied in classic form in the testimony left us by Paul of Tarsus in his letters, the earliest Christian documents. "While we were dead in trespasses and sins . . . not by works, lest any man should boast . . . by faith . . . we have received the reconciliation . . . we have peace with God . . . we have received the Spirit that is from God . . . the love of God is spread abroad in our hearts . . . we are led by the Spirit . . . we rejoice in hope." This is Paul's witness to a content of spiritual experience which had been added to his previous experience as a religious man. It is not a natural or a Jewish or a Muslim experience, but other than these. It has to do with what Paul had found in Christ.

On the basis of such an analysis it is possible to draw an outline of Christian-Muslim relations, free from the animosities and controversies of the past. To friendship, helpfulness, and an experimental approach to the religious life we may now add recognition of community in religious attitudes. On this basis cooperative activities are possible, in which Muslims and Christians share. There may be study together of the inner life, and of the deeper spiritual significance of openness and obedience to truth. The necessity for this openness and obedience may be pressed upon Christian and Muslim alike. With all this, the Christian message of a new spiritual experience found in Christ will stand as a *datum* calling for sincere study and experimental testing on the part of those who have resolved to be open and obedient to truth.

Supposing such an understanding of Christian-Muslim relations to become operative, what consequences are to be anticipated? The following have been observed in limited environments. Muslim suspicion of an ulterior motive on the part of Christian acquaintances will be removed, and a relationship of sincere confidence and fellowship will be established. Constructive religious conversation will be possible. Muslims who are in religious doubt and personal difficulty will find sympathy and a way to assurance and

courage. Educational institutions serving both Christian and Muslim students will be able to make an open and common religious appeal to them all without distinction. Serious Muslim parents will be glad to place their sons under such influences. Controversy having disappeared, there will be common study of religious history, literature and experience. Muslims will want to understand the Christian witness, and by the same sign Christians will gain new insights into the inner life and the problems of their Muslim associates. Muslims will no longer tend to stand aloof from the message of Christ, but they will desire that these spiritual understandings should become widely known among themselves. As to changes that may take place in the inner life, the witnesses are "thine own heart" and God, but the tree will be known by its fruits, and inner experience may come to expression in words of testimony.

Let us quote with appreciation irenic words of the Qur'an not often cited, words addressed to the "People of the Book" at a time when religious considerations were above political: "Allah is our Lord and your Lord. We have our works and you have your works. Between us and you let there be no argument (*hujjat*). Allah will make us all one, and to Him is the return." (xlii:15.)

Then let us recall words of Christ, words which breathe no hint of race or creed: "It is written in the prophets, 'They shall all be taught of God.' " "I am come that they may have life and that they may have abundance." "Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." "Everyone that hath heard from the Father and hath learned cometh unto me."

Would that we all might find deliverance from the miasma of an inexact religious dilemma and the beclouding mentality of two competing systems of belief and practice into the free atmosphere of spiritual experience and of the helping Christ.

Brooklyn, N. Y. JOHN E. MERRILL.

A POEM OF THE SOUL

The edition of Ghazzālī's *Maʿārij al-quds* (= *Maʿārij al-sālikīn*) which was published at Cairo in 1346/1927 by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṣabrī al-Kurdī is followed by two *qaṣīdahs* likewise attributed to Ghazzālī (see Brockelmann, *GAL* Suppl. I, p. 751, no. 33), the first a *hāʾīyah* in 64 *baits*, the second a *tāʾīyah* in 366 *baits*. According to the editor, the manuscript on which the edition is based is dated 822/1477, which is quite a respectable age: as he does not indicate where it is preserved, it may be presumed to be in private ownership.

It is not proposed to discuss in this article the question of authenticity: all that is intended is to furnish here a verse-translation of the first of these poems, as a rather delightful and uncommon form of Arabic poetry. The language of the original is very straightforward and sincere, the tone is reminiscent of Herbert: it is refreshing to read after the generally somewhat obscure and euphuistic diction of the great part of Arabic mystical poetry. The enumeration of the vices of the soul recalls such a work as Sulamī's *ʿUyūb al-nafs*, an unpretentious little treatise which has not yet found its way into print.

What ails my soul, that maketh long complaint
to men, but for the fear of God is faint?
Its very plaint forbiddeth its release,
augments its terror, and destroys its peace.
Would it but come with humble love sincere
unto its Master, He would draw it near;
but since it chooseth who His creatures are
above their Fashioner, He keeps it far,
and makes its need yet more: but let it flee
to Him, He'll grant it full satiety.

Unto His creatures it complains, as though
they have the power to work it weal or woe:
but would it lay all matters at His feet
in true sincerity and trust complete,
He would not leave it in its long despairs,
but give it gladness in return for cares.
It angers God, that it seeks man to please:
a curse upon its self-sought miseries!
If it would dare man's anger to attain,
pleasing its Lord, it would His pleasure gain.
I have a soul whose nature I would tell,
that we may know it and its habits well:
hear then my tale thereon, and tell in turn,
that men of wit its mysteries may learn.
It labours after folly as its goal:
alas, the foolish labour of my soul!
I chide it, but it never will obey,
as if I will not well in what I say;
but idly looking at another's sin
forgets the faults it cherishes within.
Its evil manners have corrupted me,
and leave me neither rank nor piety.
At concert with vain talk it fills the air,
has small remembrance of its God at prayer,
receives His favours with scant gratitude,
and, suffering, with less patience is endued:
full slow of foot its remedy to obtain,
but swift to seek the things that are its bane;
finds endless cause its promises to break,
is false in every claim that it doth make;
keen-sighted after evil vanities,
but blind to where its own salvation lies;
grasping at pleasures with alacrity,
at time of meditation sluggardly;
with leaden eye forgets its God to greet
Who fashioned it in symmetry complete;
when all is well, in confidence arrayed,
but in distress most mightily afraid;
in pride and in hypocrisy well-versed,
yea, and by pride corrupted and accursed;
unstinted in approval and appraise
of him who seeks its dignity to raise,
but lavish of opprobrium and blame
when any dares its shortcomings to name;

in eating and in drinking takes delight,
and to repose is eager for the night;
accounts to others where their faults begin,
forgetful of its own account of sin.
How other far that man, who guards his soul
in cleanliness, godfearing, sweet and whole,
teaches it righteousness, keeping it keen,
nurturing it with lawful food and clean.
All night he holds it instant and awake,
washed with the tears that from his eyelids break.
When lusting after passion, with the fear
of God he visits it, and brings it cheer;
with fasting trains it, till it is subdued,
spite all its waywardness and turpitude.
So it remembers God with thankfulness
and love sincere doth secretly confess.
How well by God assisted is that soul
which, seeking refuge, gains in God its goal!
Rank and renown it winneth from its King,
and at the founts of faith finds watering:
it soars to God in loveliness of thought,
by God with love and kindness it is sought,
and if in need unto the Lord it cries
He hears its prayer, and speedily supplies.
He gives it patience in calamity,
and to its call His hand is ever free.
Not so my soul: wildly rebellious,
to orders and restraints impervious,
God's holy ordinance it never heeds;
alas, my soul! Alas, its sinful deeds!
How shall it ever to its Lord repent,
that serves the Devil, and his blandishment?
Whene'er I say, "My soul, attend my word,
be heedful of the orders of thy Lord",
the truth it will not heed, though hearing all,
as though it were another that I call.
Knew it the purpose of its fashioning,
that knowledge grief and bitter tears would bring;
were it made ware of God in verity
truly sincere would its godfearing be;
but God hath made it ignorant of him,
neglect hath made the light of guidance dim.
And ah, my soul! Alas for it, and woe,
if God abandons it, and lets it go!

Beguiled by this world's pleasure, it knows not
what after death shall be its dreadful lot.
Much I have strained, to make my soul obey,
but for whose sin I had not gone astray;
when I would be obedient, it was faint,
and shewed a strange distaste and unrestraint.
I wrestled with my soul, as with a foe,
it bidding me to err, I saying no;
we were as ancient enemies at large;
I put on patience, to withstand its charge,
with troops of tempting came it forth to fight—
what patience could withstand such reckless might?—
which gave it courage, when its courage quailed,
and reinforcement, when its forces failed.
Now I succeed, now it, in the affray,
yet, when we meet, it ever wins the day.
I love it well, but it opposes me
as if I held it not in amity:
it is an enemy I cannot hate,
a memory I can ne'er obliterate.
Blindly it swims upon its sinful sea,
clutching the hems of its iniquity:
I greatly fear, if it doth still rebel,
its ruin in this life, and, after, Hell!
Wherefore, O Lord, bring its repentance near,
and wash away its sins in founts of fear:
if Thou, my God, its chastener shouldst be,
O whither shall it look for clemency?
Be gracious, then, and all its sins forgive:
Thou art its Lord, for through Thee it doth live.

Whitehall, London ARTHUR J. ARBERRY.

POLICIES AND METHODS OF MISSION WORK AMONG MOSLEMS

The western world for about a century and a half has enjoyed more intimate contact with Islamic nations than ever before in history. This era of closer relationship opened only with the French expedition to Egypt under Napoleon, at the close of the eighteenth century.

While the Muhammadan world has been bordering on ours throughout its history, our mutual contacts throughout these many centuries have hardly ever been those of good will or mutual understanding, a fact that has been pointed out recently by many writers. Islam, still somewhat of a newcomer among religions, from the very time of its arrival, has set itself definitely and squarely in opposition to all other religions—Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Hinduism—to all alike. It has been the Ishmael among religions. True to the Biblical prediction, Ishmael's hand has been against every man, and every man's hand against him.

The Christendom of recent generations has, however, not been willing to let it go at that. There has been during the last decades not only a clearer understanding of the principles on which Islam rests, but also a more sympathetic insight into the very soul of Islamic life, history, culture and religion.

It has been seen more clearly than before that the great world religions after all have a number of essential things in common, on a somewhat unilateral basis, however. Our meeting ground with Buddhism is clearly in the realm of ethics; with Hinduism in the sphere of philosophy and theology; with Judaism in our common other-worldliness; and with Islam in that attitude which has given the religion of Muhammad its very name—the

attitude of pious submission, resignation, patience and obedience to him whom both religions acknowledge as the creator and sustainer of human lives and of the universe. And, should I add, Islam also shares with us a sense of *other-worldliness.*

It may be doubted, however, whether our present understanding of the "psyche" of Muhammadan folks is of sufficient clearness to be of great help in our interpreting to them the Christ, rather than our own particular system of Christianity. The question of the underlying principles of work among Moslems is not so much what Christianity as a whole is bringing to the task of converting Islam to its own views of things both divine and human; the question is a far more practical one. We limit ourselves to the Christian workers who are making it their life task to interpret Christ to our Moslem brothers, and we ask, What does the individual Christian, first as a man and secondly as a kingdom worker, bring to his Moslem fellow man to show him the higher way of life, the set of higher ideals, which we believe we possess; to show him the concrete perfect man, the eternal Christ personified in human conduct and action?

It is easy to deal in abstractions. The word Christianity is an abstraction, and the history of religion is full of such comprehensive terms. The word Islam is a magnificent example of that class of words. How succinctly these two syllables of five letters express to a Moslem all that his religion stands for. *Islam,* submission, resignation, abnegation of the human in favor of the invisible and divine. How perfect the logic of it all, and yet how insufficient the material, the contents, out of which this logic is fashioned!

We have a higher code than Islam has, a truly superhuman code. Nothing proclaims more clearly and startlingly the supernatural origin of our religion than its requirements, which are so clearly out of the reach of the natural man. We have a higher code, but the Musalman often shows a higher grade of devotion. We have better

standards of life in its highest meaning, a higher hope, a greater joy, but does it not seem sometimes, as if the Moslem had more practical and workable methods of reaching, or at least approaching, his own standards of perfection? Read the biographies of outstanding Muhammadans. Babur's confessions are not on a much higher level than those of his great grandson Jehangir. Neither of these two was really a typical Muhammadan, yet what an unshakable hold both these startling books proclaim, an immovable hold on certain essentials and verities of the invisible. I sometimes feel that Islam (and also Hinduism, for that matter) possesses techniques for spiritual attainments of a sort not surpassed by the very best types which Christianity possesses for similar, but higher-grade attainments.

What, then, if these premises be sound, is to be deduced from them for the formulation of both policies and methods for work among Moslems? What would some of us do, if we could start over again (the present writer is not at all convinced that such a possibility is altogether visionary). What would be our new way of approach to the Muhammadan heart, mind and soul? Had we not better first ask the question, in what essentials our more intimate and more comprehensive attitude to the grave problems which the present Moslem portion of humanity presents to both church and state in the rest of the world, is still defective?

It might be worth while to study more closely the missionary tactics of Islam. What general, or even private, could afford not to learn from his opponents while the campaign is on? Coming back to the very practical question of the individual worker, are we not somewhat at a disadvantage in having to send our workers such great distances from their physical and spiritual base line? This, no doubt, is a circumstance hard to remedy.

Secondly, could we not make our shock troops more mobile? The Ashram idea and technique, which, borrowed from Hinduism, are being used so extensively now by Doctor Stanley Jones and others in India—such a plan and

method, based on strictly Muhammadan notions and sentiments, might well furnish Protestant missions with bodies of men similar to the right arm of the Roman Catholic Church, its clerical and lay orders, devoted wholly to religious life and activity.

It has often come to me in recent years, becoming more and more a profound conviction, that Protestant Christianity must not only set its own house in better order in order to do effective work among Muhammadans (still the most difficult field, with precarious and scant results), but that the various churches must plan far more carefully, generously and wisely for a great and well-sustained campaign. Women's Foreign Missionary Societies, often a generation ahead of the men, have done wonderful work in recent years, preparing, as it were, the home constituencies for the greater efforts of the future. There has been lacking perhaps, in some of the mission study books issued under the auspices of these women, a more balanced consideration of Muhammadan teaching and practice. Unless the home constituencies can be made to feel that Moslems, after all, are in many ways much like ourselves, minus our unearned and often unappreciated opportunities and the greater liberty with which Christ has set us free, the conception they will form of the Moslem world will not become sufficiently free from that dangerous spirit of *racial* or other, still more imaginary, *moral* superiority feeling, which is rightly resented very definitely by those whom we so earnestly desire to help.

Will the time ever come when Christian laymen will be the true missionaries of our belief and aim, the building of the Kingdom of Heaven, the City of God among men? Are our rank and file lacking that finesse which is so noticeable in the best adherents of the renovated and re-furbished non-Christian systems? They have a Buddha, a Shankar, a Moses and a Muhammad, but the world in general has never been audacious enough to put any of these great ones on a level with the Son of Man. If Islam can in no wise, either in theory or in practice, touch

Christianity, why can we not find ways and means to win our brethren of the great oriental monotheistic persuasion into that great wide kingdom of our common Father, which Christ has opened to the world? Have we the means, and lack the methods, or have we the methods and are not willing to apply the means?—means, not limited to natural or physical resources.

But coming down to one or two more practical considerations, what have been the chief obstacles which have obstructed the coming into Christ's kingdom here on earth of larger numbers of Muhammadans? Clearly the very high moral code and standard of our religion had a good deal to do with it. We are in the habit of glossing over certain moral conditions in Christian countries, by saying that, bad enough as things are, our religion does not sanction such and such social evils in our midst. Nor does hardly any other religion nowadays, having been refurbished and cleansed from many an evil that had tarnished their original loftiness and purity, or else evils that had been inherent from the very beginning, in some of the religious systems. I believe the Great War with its aftermaths has been a lesson inducing greater Christian humility than the much-boasted Victorian Age ever knew.

Christianity does not legislate as specifically and minutely as Islam does, laying down in strict outlines an old-world code of belief and conduct. The realm of choice in intellectual and moral questions is much more circumscribed in Islam than in Protestant Christianity. Signs are not wanting, however, that the age of liberalism, as we understood it, is passing, and, for good or ill, our peoples in the western world, even today, are far removed from the "laissez-faire" period of the middle and later Victorian age. Our last great liberator was Lincoln. Providence has not had in store for us another of his size or type; other races have given the world Tolstoy, Tagore, Gandhi and Kagawa. Since we have not been legislating higher laws of human existence for ourselves, during the piping times of peace and prosperity, hard times and un-

toward conditions have been doing the legislating for us in recent times, and a strict and illiberal regime it has very often been.

Have we expected too much of the "lesser breeds without the law," when they came into our field, being at the same time partial to our own defects and vices? What is a just and equitable maximum of essentials in a moral code, indispensable, let us say, for the admission of Muhammadan converts into the fold of the Christian Church?

As it happens, we know very little of the earliest stages of church legislation on the side of ethics, before the coming into the code of the Roman conceptions of moralistic jurisprudence. A remarkably simple set of restrictions was laid on converts from the Graeco-Roman world by the Apostles themselves (Acts 15:20—"that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and fornication, and things strangled and blood"). These four rules are purely restrictive, with no positive content. In themselves they contain not even a beginning of a moral code. They dealt with one aspect of Christian conduct only, its relation to the Jewish law, in contradistinction to Greek and Roman practice. The many things which these earliest formulated rules of Christian conduct omit are, however, not without significance.

Whereas the New Testament is without definite legislation for moral conduct, expressed in legal terms, the Old Testament makes up for it. The Ten Commandments are still, for East and West, the most fundamental and elementary precept, enabling men everywhere to live above the whims and passions of public opinion and of mere animal existence. Islamic legislation seems odd and capricious to us, with its minute casuistic and ritualistic details and its large concessions to the natural man. The confusion caused in the minds of converts from the legalism of Islam into the greater freedom of Christianity is, no doubt, more serious and disturbing than most of us can imagine. Converts no doubt miss that fixed code of legal minutiæ with which they were hedged in both in Islam and Hinduism.

Nor does it seem doubtful that many of the moral lapses of converts from both communities are caused by that absence or apparent looseness of the new moral code, giving them a wrong conception, with not enough specific details to guide them in making the proper choices and decisions. Much in Christian conduct that we take for granted, must be totally unknown to them. Many a promising convert has come to disaster for such reasons. Converts from Islam require a larger amount of loving care and attention than those from other faiths.

At some future time large numbers of Muhammadan converts will come into the Kingdom. To doubt that would be to doubt the efficiency of a world gospel. The question arises, is the Church ready for such an emergency? There was a time when the church at Jerusalem seriously doubted that the real pagan people all around the Mediterranean, beyond those who had already accepted Judaism, would ever become Christian. There was a time when the churches in Southern Europe seriously doubted that the barbarians of the North would ever turn toward Christianity. There was a time when Protestant Germany, England, Scotland, Holland and Scandinavia had no thought of passing on the torch of truth to the races in Africa or India or Eastern Asia. All such periods of mental and spiritual stagnation have long been overtaken by the history of Christian Missions, and the time will come when the myth that Muhammadans cannot be changed into children of the Kingdom will have gone the way of all other myths.

But the question does arise, what effect will such events in the Near East, in India and in North Africa have on the Christian churches? I believe the reaction would be tremendous. If Christian precept and example have helped to produce a Gandhi, have created men like Chiang Kai Shek and other Chinese leaders, what will the effect on the history of the world not be, when Islamic races shall begin to produce men of that type and calibre, with hosts of others, their faces turned toward the Kingdom of God?

Upland, Indiana. G. L. SCHANZLIN.

ISLAM IN MADAGASCAR: A BLIND SPOT

The most recent account of the progress of Christianity in Madagascar is found in the Report of the Fifth Inter-Missionary Conference held there in 1939. Progress is noted nearly everywhere. The number of Protestant Christians is given as 620,000 and Roman Catholic Christians 310,000. But "three-quarters of the population, 2,800,000, are still non-Christians. The French Mission was asked to consider the possibility of evangelising the people of the Comoro Islands." There is no other reference to the large Moslem population, greater than the total number of Protestant Christians, and the distribution of the Missions on Madagascar still leaves out of its immediate program the areas and tribes that are predominantly Mohammedan. I am reminded of an experience at the Foreign Mission Club, London, some twelve years ago. Two missionaries on furlough from Central Madagascar were surprised when I asked regarding the Moslem tribes, and stoutly affirmed there were none. They were astounded to hear of over a half-million Moslems, and that the very days of the week all bear Arabic names. This blind-spot regarding Islam in Madagascar is not wholly limited to furloughed missionaries.

Two excellent books, entitled "Madagascar and Its People" and "Fifty Years in Madagascar" by James Sibree (1923) show a general inadvertence regarding the Moslem origin of many Malagasy superstitions and practices and make no mention of Islam. A letter from the secretary of an American Society, dated 1939, says, "At the present time there are very few Mohammedans living on the island of Madagascar." Another writes: "There are no Moslems living in the part of Madagascar where the L. M. S. is at work." A third testifies "So far as I know, we have no

contacts with the Moslem population unless there have been a few isolated personal contacts." (Letters dated November, 1939.)

The Rev. T. T. Matthews' "Thirty Years in Madagascar" (1904) devotes six lines to the Arab invasion of the Comoro Islands but for the rest is silent. In the Report of the Deputation to Madagascar (1913) on which all Protestant Societies were represented, there is no clear distinction made between pagan and Moslem tribes and no special plea made for the evangelization of the latter.

A brief article by a distinguished French missionary, Henri Rusillon, on Islam in Madagascar appeared in our Quarterly (Vol. XII, 1922, pp. 386-89) and stated that "nothing has been done up to the present to reach these people. They shut themselves up in their mosques, preserve most carefully their language, have their schools, and take care to have no contact with Christians." We will refer to this article later.

Our purpose now is to set forth somewhat more fully and accurately the whole problem of Islam in Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, and to refer to the bibliography on the subject. It has proved a fascinating study, carrying us back to the voyages of Sinbad the Sailor, Marco Polo, the Arab geographers, and the strange people and products of the islands of Wāḳ-Wāḳ, identified by Gabriel Ferrand with Madagascar. "The ruler of the islands of Wāḳ-Wāḳ is a woman." So the Arab geographers tell us. "She sits nude on a throne, a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by four thousand young slaves also nude (al-Kazwīni, p. 300; Ibn al-Wardi, p. 415). This queen is called Damhara, wears a robe woven of gold and shoes of gold (Ibn al-Wardi, p. 415; cf. Idrīsi, p. 177). Some inhabitants of Wāḳ-wāḳ are black (al-Biruni, p. 164). They resemble the Turks; they are numerous, very industrious, active and intelligent, but treacherous, lying and cunning (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587). They weave tunics with sleeves in a single piece; they build large ships and floating houses (Ibn al-Wardi, p. 415)."

"The Wāḳ-Wāḳ are beings closely resembling the human species. They are the fruit of great trees from which they hang by the hair. They have breasts and sexual organs like those of women. They are coloured and never cease crying 'wāḳ-wāḳ.' When one of these creatures is captured, it becomes silent and falls dead. The Wāḳ-wāḳ are like palm and cocoanut trees, intermediate between the animal and vegetable kingdoms (Dimashki, p. 367)." [1]

Our present knowledge of these fabulous islands is far more accurate but there are still historical and ethnological gaps awaiting research.

Madagascar is nearly as large as the state of Texas and lies two hundred and forty miles off the east coast of Africa. It is about nine hundred and eighty miles long and three hundred and fifty miles wide. For government administration the Comoro Islands are united with Madagascar. Both became French colonies in 1896. The total population (census of 1932) is 3,772,569, of which 22,923 were French and 13,535 foreigners. The capital is Antananarivo, with a population of 98,577, and the chief ports are: Tamatave, Diego-Suarez, Majuna and Tulear.[2]

The natives of Madagascar, collectively known as Malagasy, are divided into a considerable number of tribes, each having its distinct customs. The majority of the inhabitants are probably derived, the lighter portion of them, from the Malayo-Polynesian stock, and the darker races from the Melanesian, who reached the island with the aid of the equatorial winds and currents. The population shares a number of characteristics with the peoples of the Indian and Pacific archipelagoes, physical appearance, mental habits, customs, and, above all, language. Their

[1] "Wāḳwāḳ is represented in Malagasy by *vahwak* + a vowel which corresponds phonetically to an old wāḳwāḳ and means 'the people, the subjects, a nation, tribe or clan as a whole'. Madagascar might, therefore, be the island Wakwak of Yakubi. This identification is made certain by the following fact: in the great African island a pandanus called *vakwa* grows in great profusion; its fruit is a voluminous syncarp. It is known to the French as *vaquois*. Its shape and characteristics might well have given rise to the story of trees producing human beings. Madagascar thus corresponds as exactly as possible with the description of Wak-wak of the south." (Art. Wāḳ-Wāḳ in Encyclopædia of Islam.) The fabulous giant bird, the roc, of the Arabian Nights is probably the aepyornis of Madagascar. It is now extinct, but its fossil eggs are as large as a football.

[2] The New York *World Almanac*, 1939.

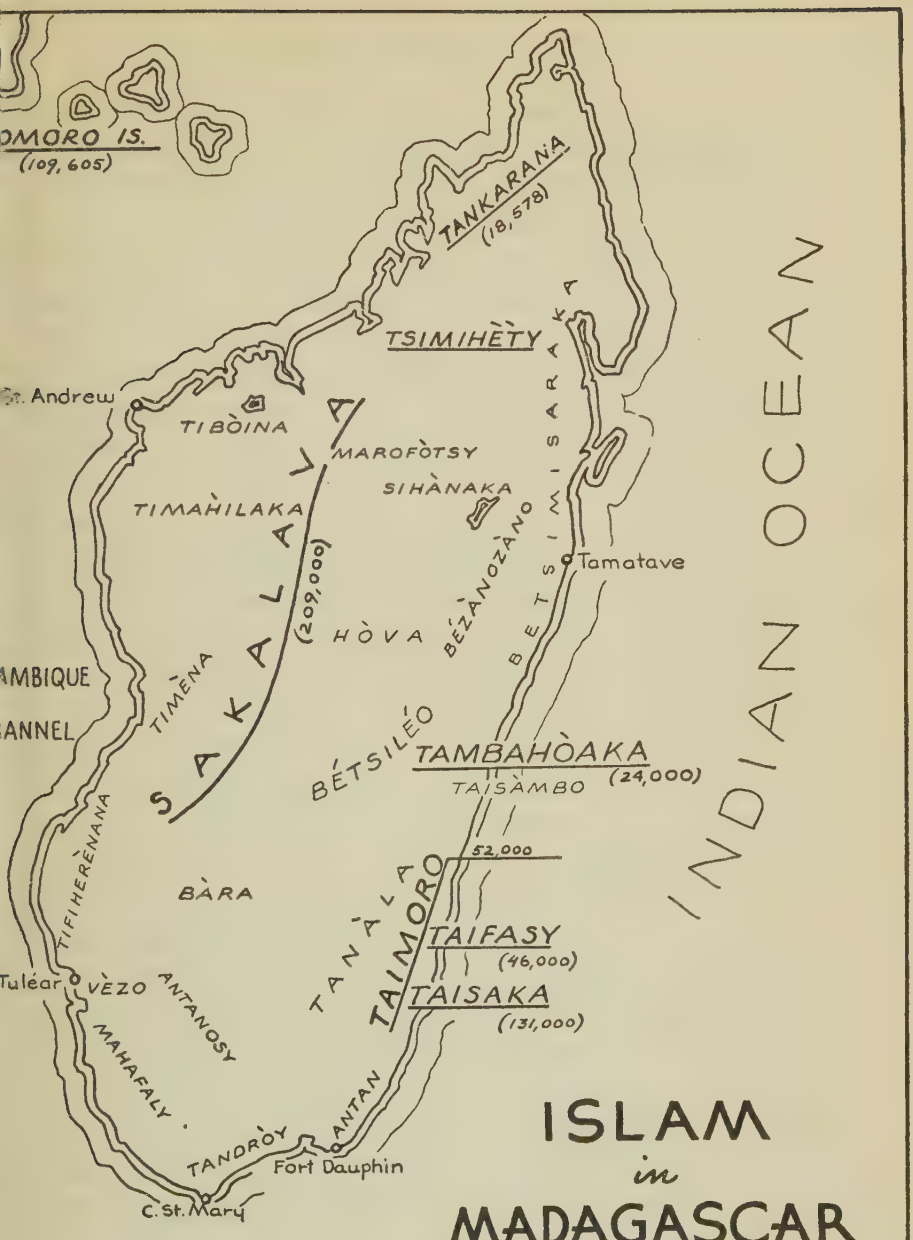
traditions also point in the same direction. There is an Arab element, introduced especially in the ninth century, on both the northwest and southeast coasts; and it appears that most of the families of the ruling classes in those parts of the island are descended from Arabs, who married native women.

The connection of the Arabs with the island dates from a remote epoch; and in very early times settlements were formed both on the northwest and southeast coasts. In the southeast the Arabs have become merged in the general mass of the people. It is different, however, in the northwestern and western parts of the island. Here are several large Arab colonies, occupying the ports of Anorontsanga, Mojanga, Marovoay and Morondava, and retaining their distinct nationality. There is also in these districts a Hindu element in the population, for intercourse has also been maintained for some centuries between India and northern Madagascar. In the early days the Arabs had a very powerful influence upon the Malagasy. This is seen in the number of words derived from the Arabic in the native language. Among these are the names of the months and the days of the week, the words used in astrology and divination, some forms of salutation, words for dress and bedding, money, musical instruments, books and writings, together wih a number of miscellaneous terms.[3]

The Moslems of Madagascar can be divided into three groups:

In the north the Comoro-islanders (109,605) with the coast-tribes, Tankarana (18,578) and Tsimihety (78,913); in the northwest and west the Sakalava (209,000 of these are Moslem); and in the extreme southeast the Taimoro (52,000), the Tambahoaka (24,000), the Taifasy (46,000) and the Taisaka (131,000). This would give a total of about 670,000 Moslems according to the statistics of Louis Massignon in the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (1929). Arthur Pellegrin (*L'Islam dans le Monde,* Paris, 1937) gives a higher figure, 740,000; and Zaki Ali in his recent

[3] Encyclopædia Britannica.



ISLAM *in* MADAGASCAR

Map showing location of different Malagasy tribes. Underlined are Moslem. Figures show number of Moslems.

book, *Islam in the World* (Lahore, 1938) puts the total Moslem population of Madagascar at 805,000.[4]

Missionary correspondents are still *much* in disagreement with these statistics, for example:

"Besides the pagan population there are about 100,000 Muslims in Madagascar, chiefly near the west coast, where Islam has been introduced by Indian traders. These have constituted up till now a community untouched by Christianity, but concern for their evangelism is now aroused." (*International Review of Missions*, January, 1940, p. 84.)

A letter comes, dated December 22, 1939, from the Rev. Daniel Couve, Secretary of the Société des Missions Évangeliques de Paris, in which he writes: "On the special question of Islam in Madagascar, I put the question before several of our missionaries who are just now on furlough, or in the Army of France. All of them tell me that it would be wiser not to speak of more than 500,000 Moslems in the Island. Although it is very difficult to get accurate figures." While a Norwegian mission secretary writes (January 5, 1940):

"We have no accurate information about the number of Moslems in Madagascar, but 650,000 is certainly much too high. I should say that 65,000 also is too much. Our missionaries are in touch with the Moslems on the West-Coast of Madagascar and on the East-Coast and also in some of the larger towns and villages in the Interior of the Island. Almost every one of them is a merchant immigrated from India or born in Madagascar by Indian parents. We know a few cases of marriage between Moslem men and Malagasy women. The children are educated Moslems.

The few Moslems on our fields do not show any interest in the Christian message and our missionary approaches to them have up to the present had no success except in two or three cases."

Our chief and most voluminous authority on Islam in

[4] A. Beaulieu (THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. xix, p. 208) lists the *Indian* Moslems of Madagascar at 12,000. These would be additional.

Madagascar is still Gabriel Ferrand, for many years Governor-General of the islands. His book, *Les Musulmanes à Madagascar et aux Iles Comores* was published in three parts (Paris 1891). The first part (pp. 163f) deals with the Antaimorona Moslems; the second part (pp. 129f) with seven other tribes and deals more particularly with their customs and habits; the third part (pp. 204f) is linguistic and deals with the influence of the Arabic language and Arab superstitions on the Malagasy. In addition to this work M. Ferrand has written on the same subject in a number of French periodicals and contributed two articles to the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Madagascar and Wāḳ-wāḳ) which contain all at present known on the early history and character of Islam in this part of the world. Strange to say, I can find no distinct reference in Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* to the penetration of the Arabs into the Comoro Islands and Madagascar. The history of these early contacts and migrations must be gathered from references in the older Arabian geographers, who called this group of islands *Jazirat-al-Ḳamr,* Island of the Moon, a name which still survives in the Comoro Islands. Still earlier, as we have seen, they bore the legendary name of Waḳ-Waḳ.

The name Ḳamr appears for the first time in the geography of Al-Khwarizmi, who died 835 A. D. He mentions the famous Mountain of the Moon in which the Nile was reputed to rise.

Marco Polo, in his voyages, speaks of Madagascar "where the Saracens live, who worship Mohammed. They have four sheikhs, that is, four old men, in whose hands is the government."

But it is now known that Marco Polo referred to the Zanzibar coast and not to the island opposite.

"Malagasy undoubtedly belongs to the western Indonesian group of the Malayo-Polynesian family. Down to the adoption of the Arabic alphabet, the language was only oral and, so far as we know, never written down in any alphabet. The lack of epigraphic material on the one

hand and of ancient monuments on the other deprives us of any chance of regaining the past history of this vast island. Before the sixteenth century, a few Arabic and Chinese texts would constitute our only documents, if the linguistic substrata did not yield us some valuable information. These substrata are of two kinds, Bantu and Sanskrit." [5]

Ferrand, after giving all the evidence from comparative philology, sums up the four waves of Arab migration (after the earlier period in which Hindus and Africans came to Madagascar) as follows:

The Arabs came in the sixth and ninth centuries and converted some of the people to Islam. They probably made the voyage from the Persian Gulf and belonged to the Sunni rite. Another migration came from Sumatra at the end of the tenth century. These immigrants spoke of the island as Wāḳ-Wāḳ, or perhaps they themselves were so termed. Certain Persians came about the year 800. Finally, in the middle of the thirteenth century, other Arabs entered Madagascar.

Ferrand quotes evidence for these four migrations in his article, chiefly from the words used in Malagasy but also from the very rare and rude manuscripts collected among these Moslem groups, in Arabic character, and now preserved in the National Library at Paris.

In the second and third volume of Ferrand's monograph he gives some of these documents in Arabic, their transliteration and translation. Naturally, as is the case among Chinese Moslems and among the Moros, the alphabet is somewhat modified and the grammar corrupted. The striking fact is that here we have evidence of an Arabic alphabet in use centuries before the Hovas, the ruling tribe of Central Madagascar, had any written language whatever. At present there is practically but one language, Hova (Malagasy), spoken throughout the whole Island, but the only script used is Latin and was introduced by the early Protestant missionaries about 1830. [6]

[5] Ency. of Islam.

[6] Eric M. North, *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, p. 567, gives facsimile pages from the present Malagasy Bible and of the earliest version both in Latin characters.

Omitting the influence of Sanskrit and Bantu on the present language of Madagascar, we note that of Arabic and the Arabs on the language, the culture and the superstitions of the Malagasy peoples. This is a remarkable example of the spread of Islamic ideas where the religion of Islam failed to take root.

Islam has left numerous traces on the speech of all Madagascar. The first and most important is the Arabic alphabet, which is still used on the southeast coast and was once more generally used through a considerable area. In the Comoro islands the Arabic-Swahili alphabet is used, which is an accommodation to certain sounds not found in Arabic. Until recently an Arabic-Malagasy paper *Qamr-ud-Din* was published by Moslems at Tananarive; and of course copies of the Koran, books of prayer and especially books of magic are in circulation. Ferrand collected some of these manuscripts: "Malagasy manuscripts in the Arabic character bear the generic name of *shura-be,* 'great writing', i.e., 'sacred writing'. They used to be difficult to obtain; the owners gave them an esoteric character which did not allow their contents to be communicated to a stranger. I was able to get some copied and to acquire a few others between 1890 and 1894. The subject matter of the manuscripts is very varied. There does not seem to have been a *shura-be* prototype out of which all the others proceeded. In an apparent disorder, the result of the fancy of the author or the copyist, we find collected *suras* of the Koran, interminable lists of the names of Allah, and of names of angels, also Arabic religious texts with interlinear Malagasy translations; Arabic-Malagasy glossaries, magic texts, and invocations in large numbers, magic squares and formulae, texts showing the magic influence, good or bad, of the planets, signs of the zodiac, lunar mansions, months, and days of the week. The *suras* of the Koran are not reproduced in the order which was settled at the revision ordered by the Caliph Othman. MS. 6 gives them in the following order: fatiha, cxix., cxii. and so on to xciv., verse 256 of ii., verse 16 and beginning

of verse 17 of iii. The same MS. also contains Sura xxxi. (f. 136b) and f. 136b-138b, verses 158-159, 137, 256-259, 284-286 of Sura ii. and verses 25-26 of Sura iii." [7]

In addition to this existing Arabic literature, the Malagasies have borrowed from the Arabs the names of the days of the week, retaining the Arabic article, also the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twenty-eight names for the days of the month. Rusillon in his book, *Un petit Continent* (pp. 180-181) lists other words in Malagasy derived from Arabic: *Harijy=harir,* silk; *mizama = mizan,* balance; *soratra = surah,* chapter; *sary = ṣurat,* picture; *aba = ab,* father; *abily = abîd,* servants; *jamoka=jamus,* water-buffalo; *karama=kurama,* favor (salary); *maty = mat,* dead; *salama = salam,* peace, (greeting); *arahaba = marhaba,* welcome; *ariary = al-riāl,* (Spanish) dollar; etc., etc. It is very strange that in this recent extensive and scholarly study of the island of Madagascar there is no reference to the studies of Gabriel Ferrand, nor are his books listed in the select bibliography.

More important is the fact that the whole art of divination or sorcery at present current among the heathen tribes of Madagascar indicates a strong Arab influence.

Robert Griffith points out that circumcision is almost a universal practice throughout the Island and one may well ask whether this also is not due to the influence of early Islam.

He asks why so many curious ceremonies are connected with the practice, such as a special feast, rejoicing, etc. In the same connection he relates the following example of a Malagasy superstition. Every one who has lived in Egypt, Arabia or North India will recognize in it the *Zar* ceremony, prevalent to this day among Moslems in the Sudan and Egypt: "On one occasion the writer was overtaken by a gale. The boat being a small Arab dhow and unable to weather the storm, the skipper made for the

[7] Ency. of Islam.

shore and landed at a small out-of-the-way village which was rarely visited by Europeans. A meal was improvised under some tamarind-trees, some shouting and dancing and clapping of hands was heard which proved to be the ceremony for casting out the spirits responsible for the Ramanenjana. Two women were the victims, men seem to be immune. The meeting was held in a large reed hut. An elegantly dressed woman sat on a stool; in front of her was a box on which were two plates half full of wild honey; between the two plates there was a jar in which incense was burning; the two women victims seemed quite oblivious of the strangers or the onlookers, and danced most vigorously whilst money was being poured on the plate by the relatives and friends.

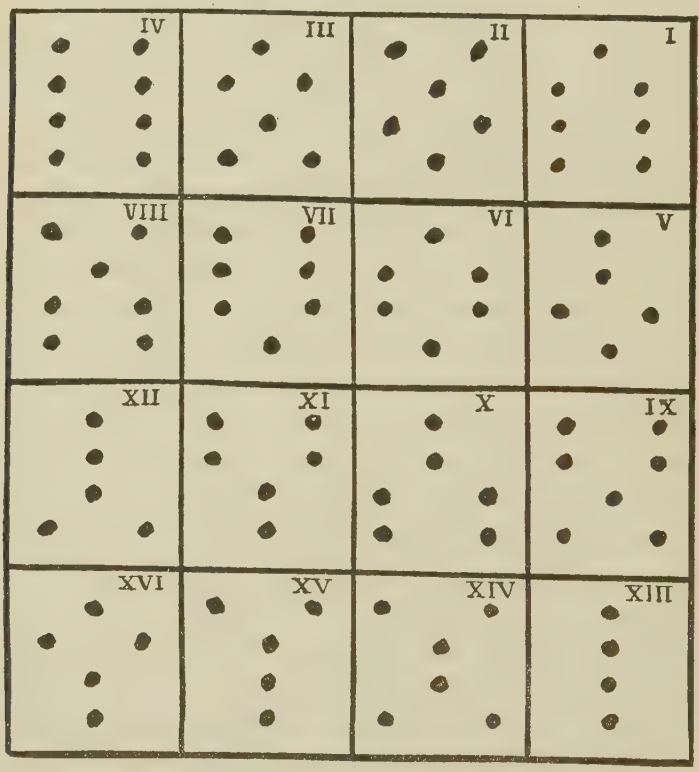
"At last the woman who sat motionless on the stool turned her head, and the two women fell down utterly exhausted and apparently unconscious. Then there was a great commotion; pails of water were poured over the poor victims, and various other extreme measures were adopted." [8]

The most common superstition, however, prevalent throughout Madagascar, is called *Shikili* (from Arabic *Shikl*), which is geomancy and is based in every particular on certain old books of magic written by Mohammed al-Zanati of Cairo, *Ilm-al-Raml*. We give an example of the table as used in Madagascar. These sixteen figures contain the fate of the inquirer and the diviner gives him the meaning by interpretation. In practice this method is used for every act of private and public life, whether of the individual, the family, the clan or the tribe. The use of this form of divination extends to every part of Madagascar. [9] (See next page.)

Each figure of the table bears a name of its own and is composed of a certain number of dots, maximum eight (IV) and minimum four (XIII). Four figures have five dots (V, XII, XV, and XVI); six have six dots (II, III,

[8] Robert Griffith, "Madagascar", p. 25. Cf. also Rusillon, *Un Petit Continent*, pp. 258-260. He calls this ceremony *le bilo*.
[9] G. Ferrand, Ency. of Islam, Art., *Madagascar*.

VI, X, XI, XIV) and four have seven dots (I, VII, VIII, IV). Each figure governs (*ḥakam*) a certain number of things or beings; according to the question put to the diviner, the latter considers very carefully the figure relating to the question asked. The influence of each of the figures comes from the sign of the zodiac, planet, day, Arab month and from one of the four elements to which it corresponds.



SHAIKH AL-ZANATI'S TABLE FROM WHICH ARE DERIVED ALL THOSE IN USE IN MADAGASCAR AND ELSEWHERE.

There is a great annual festival observed in Madagascar called *Fandruana* or the bath, which Ferrand believes is only a survival of the Mohammedan feast *al-fitr*.

When one reads of the superstitions prevalent among the pagans of Madagascar, one is reminded at every turn of Moslem influence. To quote once more from Griffith:

"It is said that the natives seldom complete anything. Their houses and buildings are never absolutely finished. When the church at Ambatonakanga, which is one of the best buildings in the Island, was erected, there were a few planks left out in the gallery. This is due to superstition, but it is a characteristic trait." [10] He does not realize that this is based upon a tradition of Mohammed, who said that only Allah is perfect and therefore one should never entirely complete human handiwork.

Destiny or fate (Malagasy *vintana*) plays an important part in the belief of all the tribes and is also referred back by Burgess and others to Arab influence. "The destiny or *vintana* of a person depends on what day he was born, or rather on what constellation of the zodiac. This and the names of the lucky and unlucky days are Arabic. The diviner is the witch doctor who pretends that there is nothing he can not find out by means of his divination chart.

"There is no custom which is so persistent as this working of the oracle, even in the most enlightened parts of the island. The Malagasy is more or less a fatalist and divination and destiny find fertile ground in his thoughts and will not be rooted out for a long time. The worship of idols and ancestor worship lost ground before civilization, but not so the practice of divination. It was rather given a greater prominence in the new order of things.

"The practice of *vintana* is based upon astrology, which teaches that the stars have an evil or a good influence on a person's life. The foundation of this astrology is the series of stellar constellations called the animal groups, or signs of the zodiac, as they appear in the almanacs. This series contains twelve signs, such as the lion, the crab, the ram, the scorpion, and others, corresponding to the twelve months of the year and forms a circle in the sky which lies in the paths of the sun, the moon, and the planets. The Arabian names of these animal signs have become the

[10] Robert Griffith, "Madagascar", p. 26.

names of the months and form the outline of the Malagasy astrology." [11]

The Taimoro tribe in Southeast Madagascar are only nominally Moslem but they retain many customs that point to old Mohammedan tradition. The description given by George A. Shaw, *especially the chant for the dead,* is deeply interesting. "When a Taimoro is approaching death, a number of old women are appointed to perform the last offices, and this they are said to do by hurrying the dying into death, and at once preparing the corpse for burial, and cutting off all the hair over the forehead. Then the scribes of the village assemble in the house, and each of them writes four passages from the sacred books upon separate pieces of bark paper. One of these slips from each scribe is taken and attached to the forehead of the corpse, and one from each on the breast and on each leg. These are then bound on with proper wrappings, that there may be no danger of displacement when the corpse is conveyed for burial.

"The body is carried to its last resting-place, and one of the young men, who has been trained to read and remember some of the words in the books of sacred writings, repeats some passages which are considered suitable for the occasion, although, as with very much of the erudition of the tribe at present as regards their sacred writings, he may not have the remotest idea what the words mean. But they are supposed to contain a prayer to God and his prophet Mohammed for the dead.

"At the entrance to the *kibory* (Arabic *Ḳabr*) a halt is made, and the women and children return home, with the exception of the old women already referred to as performing the last sad rites. These carry fat from the kidney of an ox and fire, and as they enter the gateway a chant is repeated seven times by a few of the attendants and followers, after which they all advance into the burial-house and deposit the corpse in its appointed place.

[11] Burgess, "Zanahary in South Madagascar."

This chant sounds like: *Kibarala, kibarala, kilia, lalanolalo, kibarala, kibarala, kibarala, voalalamondo.*" [12]

These words doubtless could be more correctly transliterated by one who knew Arabic!

So far we have sketched the influence of a somewhat decadent Islam on the *whole* population of Madagascar since its arrival and until the advent of Protestant Missions and the French domination. It remains to state briefly the present extent and character of Islam today.

The Comoro Island Moslems belong to the Shafi'i rite and their language is Swahili. There are three so-called sultanates under French control. The sultans of Angazija reside at Moroni where there is a center of Shadhiliya darwishes. The sultans of Anjouan are a Persian-Shirazi group dating from 1506. They have a rather large mosque built of white coral rock at Mossamoudou. The sultans of Mayotte claim descent from 'Isa-ibn-Mohammed (1544), a son of a former sultan of Anjouan and have an ancient mosque and saint's tomb of some architectural beauty. Lastly, the sultans of Moheli (also Shirazis) are descended from an exile Hova converted to Islam about 1830.

The Sakalava Moslems on the west coast are less strict in observance of Islamic laws. They observe Ramadhan but without fasting. They use rum and do not always abstain from pork. Nevertheless this group are the chief diviners and adepts in geomancy.

The Moslems on the southeast, according to their recorded tradition, came originally from Mecca. Their descendants have always retained the Arabic alphabet for their "sacred" writings (*Sorabe*) and even manufactured their own paper (*Kartas*) from native tree-bark. They possess books on medicine and astrology and their sorcerers (*Ombiasy*) travel all over Madagascar to supply *odys* (fetishes) and exercise the art of geomancy. [13]

Since 1924 many attempts have been made by the Indian Moslems, the Ahmadiyas from Mauritius and

[12] Journal, Victoria Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1901.
[13] *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, pp. 263-266.

Zanzibar, to gain new proselytes for Islam, with some success. The missionary deputation in 1913 reported:

"For many years Arab influence has been felt to some extent in the east of the Island, and many Mohammedan Indians have settled there. Recently, the influence of Islam has been further extended in the northwest by the influx of Comorians and Swahili, many of whom marry two or three Sakalava wives. Often villages may be seen where one half is Mohammedan and the other half Christian. If the experience in other fields is to be repeated, the Church will certainly find it much harder to bring Christ into the lives of these people after they have come under the influence of Islam, and it is, therefore, an urgent necessity that we occupy these regions by Christian forces." [14]

In 1919 Robert Griffith stated: Islam is making headway by leaps and bounds in Northwest Madagascar. Mohammedan missionaries from Zanzibar and Arabia go about from village to village and port to port preaching their religion, and *let it be clearly understood that Islam is not a stepping-stone to Christianity; it is its greatest and most bitter rival.* There is one thing to be said, the form of Islam prevalent in this district is extremely superficial. It is a little Mohammedanism added to the regular Sakalava heathen worship. A few genuflections, and a few incantations, more or less regularly recited, the carrying of some scraps of paper on the arm and forehead on which something in Arabic is written, attendance at the mosque, with great care in washing the feet before entering is all that is required. Drinking and immorality go on as before, but one is obliged to admit that this superfical form of religion is gripping the masses of Sakalava, and there are already 80,000 Mohammedans on the West Coast of Madagascar." [15]

Henri Rusillon, a missionary of the Société des Missions Évangeliques (Paris) who labored long in the Boina Avaratva district, mentions the Gujerati Moslems of India as active in winning others to "Silamo". By com-

[14] Madagascar for Christ, Joint Report, etc., p. 14.
[15] Robert Griffith, "Madagascar," pp. 54-55.

mercial dealings they are the medium between the black and the white population. Although the type of Islam is superficial "one must not conclude that it is not to be feared. On the contrary, the very facility it offers to nominal conversions pushes it forward." He suggests that one could reach the Indian Moslems by suitable literature in Gujerati and that the Comorians would be able to read Swahili tracts and books. "The true Indian and Moslem center is today at Majemga. Formerly it was at Nosibe where, nevertheless, a small Indian village still exists. Nothing has been done up to the present to reach these people." [16]

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[16] "Islam in Madagascar," THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. xii, pp. 387.

THE NEAR EAST IN SOUTH AMERICA

Reference in the report of the special Latin America group at the Tambaram session of the International Missionary Council to "the Muslims in Brazil and the River Plate region" as well as continued verbal reference by missionary speakers to the sizable Moslem colony in South America led me to investigate the matter carefully during my recent five months' trip around the South American continent. The term South America in this article is used in the narrow sense of the territory below the Isthmus of Panama.

In the first place, there would seem to be a confusion in the minds of missionaries and nationals alike in South America between Moslems from the Near East and non-Moslems from the Near East. Both in Spanish and Portuguese anyone from that part of the world is referred to as a "Turco." In the same way anyone from the Far East, especially in Chile, is designated a "Chino" without investigation, just as we of Europe and North America are called "gringos." In other words a foreigner is classified on sight as a Turco, a Chino, or a Gringo.

While a study of the immigration statistics of Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Argentine, and Brazil fail to show a numerically large group from the Near East as compared with Japanese in Brazil and Peru or even Italians and Spanish in the same period of time, the Near Easterner has made his presence known. This has not been through becoming a public charge but as a result of his business acumen which has soon enabled him to climb the economic scale and incur the jealous envy of the more easy-going business man of Latin America whose business is disappearing before his very eyes.

It was striking to discover that some of the finest

houses in the best residential sections of Santiago, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro are now the homes of Syrian merchants who are comparatively recent immigrants. On a railroad in the interior of Brazil we met a Nestorian priest who explained that his parish consisted of that entire railroad line along which 1500 Assyrians were settled. On the border between Bolivia and Brazil at Corumba our neighbor in the hotel was the Syrian Orthodox bishop from Buenos Aires visiting his flock in that community after coming up the river through Paraguay, where he had met with numerous adherents of his faith.

The American Bible Society agencies in Chile, Argentine and Brazil all report a considerable circulation of the scriptures in Arabic. In some places Protestant Syrians have affiliated with the churches established by mission groups, but in general it would seem that this group in South America had been avoided by the missionaries on the erroneous assumption that all Near Easterners are followers of Mohammed.

During five months the author was unsuccessful in meeting more than one Moslem in all of South America, and he was the chargé d'affaires of the Turkish Legation in Buenos Aires who hastened to explain that "politically" he was a Moslem rather than anything else. My interview with him was carried on in Persian, which he spoke beautifully, having been transferred six months before from Kabul. He explained that a Moslem from India had come to the legation not long since, asking the location of a mosque, but that they were unable to help him discover one.

In Montevideo only one Moslem had ever been heard of and he was an avowed communist, so he seemed scarcely a legitimate piece of evidence. In Lima the house of a Moslem was pointed out, but it was explained that his Peruvian wife had not approved of his polygamous habits and had done away with him not long before.

The Jew is an ever-present representative of the Near

East in South America, although most of the recent Jewish refugees are from Central Europe, while the established Jewish residents of Argentina (the sixth Jewish country in the world) have been there several generations and in many cases came from Spain and Portugal.

If one were to make a study of the cultural influence of the Near East in South America, it would be a very involved and complicated piece of research. An analysis of South American life shows three distinct sources. The indigenous element is that of the Indian, found more noticeably in Peru and Bolivia than in the other countries of the continent. Then there is the African contribution, which in Brazil and Colombia bulks especially large. Third is the Near East element, which reached South America by way of the Spaniards and Portuguese to whom the Arabs had brought so many cultural patterns.

To one who has lived in the Near East for a period of years, innumerable customs and even points of view seem perfectly natural. And many of the South American literati are ready to point with pride to this cultural background. "We have the same literary outlook and reactions that the Persians have, from what little I know of their writings", declared the editor of the major publishing house in Santiago while discussing this question.

Fatalism or "kismet" is an ever-present factor in the lives of the South Americans. Two of the largest Roman Catholic churches in Bahia City are distinctly Byzantine while on the Avenida in Rio one sees a perfect replica of a mosque façade, supposedly copied from Damascus. In both Spanish and Portuguese one finds innumerable direct and indirect transfers from Persian and Arabic.

"That's why we Near Easterners like it in South America", concluded a prosperous Egyptian on the boat nearing New York, who had been visiting cotton plantations in Brazil. "We feel right at home and are able to more than hold our own in business, which is not always the case in your North America", he added.

New York City HERRICK B. YOUNG.

FRAGMENTA ISLAMICA [1]

In the introduction to his book, [1] Dr. Pijper, adviser of native affairs of the East Indies' government, writes: "These studies in the first place are meant to be a scientific contribution to the knowledge of Islam in the Dutch Indies. But I presume they also may be useful to officials or laymen who take an interest in and want to be abreast of the religious life of Muslim people." For those who are working as missionaries among Muhammadans it is also of much importance to note these six essays by Dr. Pijper, student of the late Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, who increased our knowledge of Islam so tremendously by his scientific researches in Java and Sumatra. Dr. Pijper has continued the work of his predecessor and this collection of essays about Islam is one of the important results of his labor. Moreover the author possesses the gift of writing grippingly about his subject without neglecting the scientific character of his work.

As elsewhere in the world, Islam in the Dutch Indies is in a state of transition in which new problems arise and new energies break forth. Several factors cooperate in stirring up the world of Islam, which was about to petrify by an isolation ages long. This Islam has to take its stand now against an intruding western world, to which its attitude is, *eo ipse,* hostile, but by which it is forced to think about its very nature and to become conscious of its religious, cultural and political potentialities. To be sure, for the present the Muslim masses are still unmoved by the transformations that have taken place. But still, more and more the differences appear between the Old Conception which tries to preserve the religious *status quo,* and the New Conception which has its followers chiefly among the younger generation and finds its strongest representation in "Muhammadiyyah", the strong modernist association in the Dutch Indies. This is characterized by two facts. In the first place, it has the tendency to purify Islam of all sorts of things which are contrary to its real religious nature. This tendency to katharsis, which is found everywhere among followers of the New Conception, comes into clash with the Old Conception in Islam, which does not at all hold with these innovations and

[1] *Fragmenta Islamica.* Studien over het Islamisme in Nederlandsch-Indie. By Dr. G. F. Pijper. Leiden: Brill, 1934.

does not want to alter the compromise that the old Islam made between religion and the customs of the country (*adat*).

In the second place, the New Conception, as represented in the Muhammadiyyah, is characterized by a greater activity toward the world outside and an invigorated missionary consciousness. In this way the new conception is also in contrast with the old orthodoxy which actually will have nothing to do with the world outside. The younger generation, as it works in the Muhammadiyyah, has been stimulated to this missionary attitude under western influence, especially that of Christian Missions. The New Movement does not confine itself only to apology for its own creed but proceeds to direct action. Very often the methods of working are copied from those of the Christian Missions. By founding schools and hospitals the Muhammadiyyah tries to satisfy the craving for social work which has begun to live among the younger generation, and in and by this social work it tries to bring the message of Islam. A positive stand is made against everyone and everything considered as harmful to Islam, and primarily against the Christian religion and Christian Missions. The religious propaganda as expressed by *tablīghs* in Java and Sumatra is a good example of this missionary consciousness and purposeful activity which characterize modern Islam. The reviving interest in the status of Muslim women in the national movement in the East Indies is also due to a great extent to the work of the Muhammadiyyahs, as this association stimulates the activity of Muslim women themselves by a special section for women only, called "Aishiyyah."

The first of the essays is entitled "Women and the Mosque." During his explorations throughout Java the author discovered the existence of special mosques for women, in Jogyakarta, Surakarta and Surabaya (Java) and elsewhere. This discovery led him to inquire what the Muslim Law says about the participation of Muslim women in public worship and the part that Muslim women in Java take in worship inside and outside the mosque.

In the chief mosque of Mecca a number of women always take part in the five daily *salats* in a separated place. According to the Law it is *sunnah* for women also to do the obligatory *salats* along with other believers, except on Friday. Only in the case of an enchanting appearance does the Law disapprove of the presence of women in the mosque on the score of the risk of impiety (*fitnah*) which could be caused by it. As to the weekly Friday-service the *faqihs* say it is better for a woman to do her *salat* at home, by reason of a *hadīth* to this effect: "Do not forbid the mosques to your wives, but their houses are better for them." As to the festival days, however, it is a matter of *sunnah* to do the *salat* in the

congregation; neglecting this is blameworthy (makrūh). So the Law by no means excludes women from visiting the mosque. Still, the great majority of women in Java never go to the mosque—they do their *salat* at home. Most likely in former days visiting the mosque by women was more general than it is now; this becomes obvious from the presence of a separated room for women only, found in several old mosques in Java, as in Cheribon. Many of these special places for women are entirely out of use nowadays. The author made ample inquiry about the visiting of mosques by women in different places and gives here the result of his inquiry. On the whole, visiting mosques by women is inconsiderable. They appear on exceptional occasions, on festival-days like 'Īd al-Fitr, 'Id al-Qurbān, Maulid al-Nabī and especially on Mi'rādj, a favorite religious feast in Java, for men as well as for women. At the memorial service of Miradj the men often sit in the front part of the mosque; the women sit inside the mosque, listening to the story of the Miradj as it is told by the *imām*.

Indonesian women in general are very religious—they show it in their daily *salat,* their fasting in the month of Ramadan and, if possible, by going on pilgrimage to Mecca. Religious education among the lower and middle classes is chiefly in the hands of the gurus, mostly men, but sometimes also women. The higher classes among the Javanese generally do not send their daughters to religious schools, but to the schools of the government; however, this does not mean that they do not pay attention to the religious education of their children. This is usually done at home, by the mother or a woman-relative—sometimes by a woman-guru, who comes to the house every day.

Numberless are the women's societies in which religious instruction is given by courses of lectures, etc., such as those given by the Aishiyyah or woman's section of the Muhammadiyyah. Women preachers (*muballighahs*) go to different places to speak in meetings. The Aishiyyah publishes its own review, called "Suara Aishiyyah," i.e., the voice of Aishiyyah, in which subjects of any importance to Muslim women are dealt with, such as religious duties, marriage, education and the position of women according to Islam. Often there are apologetic contributions; important events in the women's world, Muslim and non-Muslim, are published and meetings and *tablighs* are reported.

Besides corporate activity, the Muhammadiyyah has also stimulated mosque attendance by founding some mosques for women, such as that at Jogyakarta. And in the religious festivals the Muhammadiyyah takes a part by conducting open-air meetings for men and women.

After the first essay we will mention the fifth, in which the author describes the commemoration of the Miradj, the ascension of Muhammad. This study shows how the new thoughts and tendencies try to break through old traditions and find new ways to use this popular feast to deepen the religious sense. Dr. Pijper gives a full description of the various ways in which the Miradj is commemorated in different places, according to the old traditional *adat*; a description which, as to Java, was lacking hitherto. The commemoration of Miradj deserves our interest, because it is attended with typical local customs and has even produced a large literature, viz., the versions of Miradj-tales in the Indonesian languages. Moreover, we can study the progress of modern religious thought from the influence of the new conceptions on the Miradj-commemoration in Java during the last ten years.

Radjab 27th in the East Indies is an official holiday—offices and schools are closed. As a matter of fact, the celebrating of Miradj, which originally was not of much importance, has rather increased during the last years, because not only the night, in which Miradj has to be celebrated according to tradition, but also the next day, which by order of the government must be a holiday, are devoted to the celebration. This holiday is used by the modern associations like the Muhammadiyyah and the Sarekat Islam in their own way, which means processions, school-functions, open-air meetings, addresses and the like, with the clear intention not to restrict themselves to the commemoration of Miradj itself, but to give it a much ampler scope by linking it up with all sorts of devotional, pedagogical, historical, and even political remembrances; and so Miradj-commemoration is used at the same time to proclaim Muslim truths and to increase the religious zeal of the auditors.

Still, there are several reform-parties which do not participate in the celebrating of Miradj at all. This attitude results from the tendency already mentioned to purify Islam of all abuses which have crept in. According to these new reform conceptions, the commemoration of Miradj is not at all a matter of religion but a matter of *adat* (custom). In their opinion, the celebration of Miradj, like that of Maulid, is even a heresy. So here we see that modern conceptions find occasion on the one hand to purify Islam from the *adat* by rejecting an official celebration of the Miradj according to tradition, and on the other hand to use Miradj-day for propagandist purposes.

The second essay is entitled, Trade in snake-skins. Here the author gives a typical example of the excessive casuistry which is used in dealing with, at the first sight, futile problems, the solution of which nevertheless is often important because, as here, the

economic interests of the people are at stake. The question is whether trading in snake-skins can be considered as lawful according to the Muslim law. In Borneo a snake is found, called "ular puratja," the skin of which is an important object of commerce. In 1927 the question of the lawfulness of this trade was raised from the religious point of view. Dealers in snake-skins requested the government to have Islamic theologians decide officially whether catching and trading in these snakes should be considered as *ḥarām* according to the law or not, because an important source of prosperity threatened to go, if the catching of snakes were stopped for religious reasons. The author gives a survey of the year-long disputes between the lawyers caused by this problem and of the remarkable arguments which are used in such cases. A definite solution, however, could not be reached, as the spiritual authority able to impose its decision is lacking. Here too the modern reformist drifts have created a sphere well suited to raise such problems and polemics, without being able to solve them, as, for the most part, the old orthodox conceptions are diametrically opposed to the new ideas.

The third chapter deals with an important question in regard to the divorce of Muslim women. As we know, the ways by which a Muslim woman can bring her husband to divorce her are not many. She can try to prevail upon her husband to give her *talāq*. And it is possible to get divorce by ransom (*khul'*). If she fails also in this, there is nothing left but to try for *faskh,* i.e., annulment of her marriage-contract, though this method is seldom used, as the cases in which it can be applied according to the law are but few.

Now in Java, the Indonesian and Arab women, if they do not succeed in getting divorce by the ways mentioned above, sometimes use the method of apostasy or renunciation of faith (*riddah, irtidād*), in order to attain their end. In Muslim countries a woman would be sentenced to death according to the Muslim law as a penalty for *riddah.* As this is quite impossible in the Dutch Indies, some Muslim women use this way to have their marriage dissolved by the religious judge, without fearing the consequences. Dr. Pijper has made an inquiry about *riddah* in the East Indies. It turns out that the motives which bring a woman to *riddah* are nearly always the same. But the attitude of the religious judges to *riddah* is not everywhere the same. Some law-courts simply apply the prescriptions of the law and leave the religious consequences to the woman. Others try to persuade the woman to withdraw her request or they set up an inquiry into her motives. There are also judges who refuse to receive requests like these because the Muslim law-court only takes note of divorce-requests from Muslims—but in this case the woman

is no longer Muslim, in consequence of her *riddah*. There is no question but that Muslim law condemns *riddah* as a way to get a divorce. But the author doubts whether the government can intervene in this question, as in his opinion liberty of religious conscience then goes to the wall, which certainly would be the case if one's unambiguous statement of unbelief were denied. The religious consequences of such a statement belong entirely to the person who makes it.

The fourth chapter deals with the rise of the mystic order of the Tidjaniyyah in Java. It is chiefly in Cheribon that this *tariqah* finds its sphere of action. Cheribon belongs to the oldest Islamic parts of Java, and the religious life of its population is still altogether traditional; modern thoughts and conceptions like those of the Muhammadiyyah have but little influence here. It is the country of the old religion-schools, the *pesantrens*, where the gurus or kiyais who are held in deep respect by the people, receive their pupils. The mystical orders are represented here by several teachers and in 1928 there came a new tariqah, that of the Tidjaniyyah, the rise and activity of which is described in this study. This tariqah, which was not known in Java before 1928, has spread chiefly in North and West Africa, in Egypt and in West Arabia. The founder, Shaikh al-Tidjānī, was born in Algeria in the eighteenth century. As the result of a vision of Muhammad which he had, he founded his tariqah. He died and was buried in Fez. After his death the new doctrine spread quickly. The simple obligations imposed on its disciples promoted the propagation of the tariqah; the pupils in their turn became teachers and carried the new doctrines further. In spite of the stubborn and often heated contests with other communities, the Tidjaniyyah carries on its activity and has pupils and teachers everywhere in Java. The author doubts, however, whether the Tidjaniyyah will be important in the future, because the flourishing period of the tariqahs in Java seems to be passing and the new conceptions in Islam are either indifferent or hostile to them; Egyptian Reformism has even expressed condemnation of the Tidjaniyyah. So in these matters as well we can see the influence of modern conceptions in Islam on the old traditional movements, mostly to the detriment of the latter.

In the last chapter the author describes the new religious ideas as they appear in the district of Benkulen, in the south of Sumatra. It is a typical example of the way in which the new drifts in Islam, which are radiating chiefly from two central points—Central Java (Jogyakarta) and Minangkabau in Sumatra—start their influence in countries that hitherto have been closed to the new religious ideas. In 1927 in Benkulen a reformistic religious society was

founded by some Minangkabau people. This society soon entered into relations with the Muhammadiyyah in Java. Besides this, another Minangkabau society, called Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, also became influential in Benkulen. So we can see that foreigners, in this case people from Java and Minangkabau, bring the new ideas into the country. In the beginning, malcontents and people who are hostile to the government join the new movement, but as a rule, when the new movement grows, the restless elements recede into the background and their leading task is taken over by quiet people, generally born in the country itself.

The weapons which the new movements use are generally two: religious instruction and *tablīgh*. At first the old, traditional conceptions oppose the new methods, but they are often themselves stimulated to greater effort. In Benkulen the methods of school-teaching have been modernized, and in 1928 the school-union of Djamiyyat-Khair was founded. This union is led by people who are thorough stalwarts of the old orthodoxy. This certainly can be considered as a reaction to the activity of the Muhammadiyyah, which from the very beginning has founded schools, religious courses for adults, courses of Arabic language and *tablīgh*. The author dwells on the *tablīgh* as an excellent method of propaganda. Tablīgh in the sense of "religious preaching," "religious propaganda," has been taken over by modern Muslims in the East Indies from India and can be considered a very effective missionary method. It has become so popular that it has been adopted even by the orthodox parties. In the Muhammadiyyah special tablīghs for women are quite common.

In Benkulen a fight started between the Old Conception party, who want to cling to the traditions of the *adat*, especially at marriage and death, and the New Conception party, who want to abolish the old religious customs, as, for instance, the use of *talqīn* at burial and of *tahlīl* a few days afterwards. Still, the Muhammadiyyah seems inclined to come to a compromise with the local *adat*-governments, as it does not fight against the *adat* as such, but only in so far as the *adat* is in positive opposition to the religious prescriptions.

The author has given a lively account of the religious thoughts and forces which are active among the Muslims in the East Indies, and of the conflicts between the old and new world of Islam. Also, missionaries among Muslims should note these transformations in Muhammadan life, which may be considered as the *prodromi* of the time when the real spiritual meeting between Christianity and Islam will be possible.

East Java J. A. Verdoorn.

BOOK REVIEWS

Toward a Literate World. By Frank C. Laubach, Ph.D., Foreign Missions Conference, New York. pp. 178. $1.75.

This book describes a notable concrete response of the Christian world mission to an elemental need of the vast world-constituency officially glimpsed at the Jerusalem Conference (1928) as the "rural billion", "the green proletariat"—approximately half of the globe's population—still in the shadow of illiteracy, unable to write their names or to read a line in their own language, and, in the case of millions, having nothing to read.

The statistical estimate that 62% of the human family, rural and urban, remain blind to the rudimentary symbols of speech and literary exchange, does not ignore the cultural result of the educational enterprises carried on by Governments and Missions, during more than a century, among backward and "primitive" communities; nor is it unconscious of the areas in which fractional or "semi" literacy has begun to gleam amid the gloom. During the past decade there has been in many countries notable quickening of desire for literacy, particularly on the part and in behalf of submerged or underprivileged peoples—all the way from the Outcastes of India to the Kikuyus of Kenya and the Quechuas of Peru. This movement has become ardently and creatively articulate, on an intercontinental scale, largely through the achievement and leadership of the man who now bids us look "toward a literate world."

Incipient emergence of masses of people into a reading and writing knowledge of their own vernacular has recently occurred in a part of the Islamic world whence, perhaps, least expected,—namely, among the Moros of Mindanao. Dr. Frank C. Laubach, missionary-educator of the Philippines since 1915, gives a fascinating account of "the conquest of syllable and pen"—the great crusade for literacy in the Province of Lanao—with resultant adult community, since 1930, of some 45,000 who can now read, "each with his own eyes" and write "each with his own hand."

Mastering the regional language—(Maranaw, in which nothing had ever been printed)—Dr. Laubach and his Filipino associate, eschewing the intricate Malayo-Arabic alphabet of the mullahs' manuscripts, registered the vernacular in simple Romanized transcription, comformable to the phonetic system that had already been applied to most other Filipino dialects. The people, amazed to hear the foreigner pronounce from his written notes the words of their folk-songs, forthwith clamored to be taught to read. Calling to his aid a group of young Moro students, who brought to the quest "all the adventurous ardor of their pirate ancestors,"

Dr. Laubach sought and found certain "key words" to illustrate in simplest mnemonic form the syllabic structure of the language. He prepared charts of Romanized vocabulary based on these "key words", exhibiting in three lessons all existing combinations of vowel and consonant sounds of the Maranaw phonology. The charts were followed by reading-primers of picture-word lessons, short stories and other material appropriate to illiterate adults. The series may be described as an ingenious combination of the syllabic, phonetic, and visual-object methods of language teaching.

With these instruments and a small corps of teachers trained to use them, the heralded "literacy campaign" was launched with enthusiastic support of the leading *datos* of the province. Success of Dr. Laubach's methods was instant and cumulative, not only in pedagogical procedure, but in social results which made Lanao famous. When each learner, having taken a lesson, even the first, was required to teach it to another, the movement took on the fervor of a religious revival, instinct with the spirit of mutual service. Foundations of a literature for the new readers have already been laid in a succession of books and pamphlets pouring from the presses, and the first vernacular newspaper, the *Totol Ko Ranaw*—"Story of Lanao"—soon to be superseded by the enlarged sixteen-page fortnightly *Lanao Progress,* of which the content is preponderantly "native", prepared by the Moros themselves.

The spread of the campaign to other provinces and language-areas of the Islands is a moving chapter in the history of extra-school education in the Philippines. Also, it indicates the vitality of the vernaculars which show no sign of disappearance, notwithstanding the increasing ascendancy of English due to the American occupation. Officially called to conference by educational committees in four tours of the Islands, Dr. Laubach, in collaboration with regional language experts, saw his charts and primers reproduced in Visayan, Tagalog, Ilocano, and a dozen other dialects,—preparatory to the nation-wide approach to illiterates which, still in progress, has subsequently covered the Archipelago from Jolo-land to Luzon.

The Lanao achievement, conspicuous for the cooperation of Moslem and Christian, and widely publicized, brought visitors from Malaysia, Siam, India, China, Latin America, the Moslem East, —educationists, missionaries, government officials, linguists,—working among, or interested in, the unlettered masses of their respective communities. Their reports, and an inquiring correspondence from many parts of the world, issued in an invitation to Dr. Laubach to visit Continental Asia, and the Near East, to demonstrate his methods and confer with others who were similarly engaged, confronted by the challenge of illiteracy on a vaster and more baffling scale than that which existed in the Philippines. The greater portion of the book is an account of this pilgrimage which was later extended to include East Africa and a second visit to India.

It was with no presumption of methodological finality through his success in Maranaw, that the author set out upon his journey. Still a bold projector in the teaching art, and expecting to learn more amid new fields than his experience could yet impart, he

traveled from land to land, the inspiring leader in what may be called a moving laboratory of experimental linguistics. Through a succession of cooperative conferences, vividly described, groups of language-scholars and teachers, Moslem, Christian, Hindu, missionaries and secular educationists, in each area participated in experimental demonstration of the Moro campaign. After the model of the Lanao texts, they worked with Dr. Laubach in the preparation of new charts and elementary reading material in their respective vernaculars, with such modification as was inevitably imposed by the more complex nature of some languages of the denser illiterate areas. In India, of course, it was necessary to retain, even for the simplest lessons, the classical Devanagari and Dravidian alphabets, using Roman letters, if at all, only as a secondary notation. In not a few cases the Moro lessons were coordinated with previously existing primary manuals and effective methods—especially in India—, and lent stimulus to the issuance of excellent revised editions. Tamil and all varieties of spoken Arabic from Egypt to Syria proved to be particularly recalcitrant to the simplicities of the Lanao syllabary. Yet in Urdu the task was so successfully performed as to win the approval and patronage of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. The language to which the key-word method of the original charts could be most easily and directly applied was Malay, with which Moro-Maranaw is closely akin.

Fruit of the labor and travel of this "evangelist of literacy" to date is altogether 65 sets of lessons in 43 languages and dialects including, besides the Philippine idioms and others mentioned above, the following:—Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish, Arabic, Malay, Swahili, Sudanian Dholuo, Bantu Bunyore, the Hispanic languages of Latin America, and Mandarin Chinese.

An invaluable pedagogical instrument has thus been made available in many lands to teachers actual and potential, who desire to win to the light of salutary knowledge "the shadowed peoples of East and West." A greater contribution still is the stimulus and inspiration toward world literacy, that have gone out from the shores of that mountain lake in the heart of Mindanao.

The volume is charmingly enlivened by full-page illustrations of the lessons in the diverse Oriental scripts with indigenous object-pictures, and luminous exposition of experienced method.

Professor Thorndike of Teachers College who writes the foreword for "Toward a Literate World" commends it "to workers in adult education, Christian missionaries, and all persons interested in the welfare of so-called backward tribes and communities."

Hartford CHARLES T. PAUL.

The People of the Mosque. By L. Bevan Jones, Calcutta, Y. M. C. A. Publishing House. 2nd edition, 1939. Cloth Rs. 4, paper Rs. 3.

The first edition of this book was published simultaneously in England and in India in 1932 as the first book from the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies in Lahore, which had then been in existence less than three years. It was given a great welcome by missionaries, particularly in India, and at once superseded all

previous efforts as the indispensable *vade mecum* for every missionary to Moslems.

The contents cover the whole subject, as can be seen from the chapter headings: Arabia and its people, Muhammad, The first four Khalifas, The subsequent expansion of Islam; The Qur'an, The Traditions, Muslim Canon Law; The Creed, Religious Duties, Muslim high days, The Sects of Islam, Sufism, The Mystic Path and religious orders; Islam in the Near East, Islam in India since the tenth century, Reform movements in India, The New Apologetic; Christianity and Islam in India, Sources of strength in Islam, The inadequacy of Islam, Christian doctrines in the light of Muslim prejudice, The new Polemic, A Candid Enquiry into our methods, Our Supreme Task. The 350 pages of the book allow these varied subjects to be dealt with in sufficient detail to serve the ordinary missionary's purposes, and a glossary of technical terms is extremely useful for reference. Such care had been taken in the original preparation of the book to ensure the greatest possible accuracy that very little revision was needed in the historical and theological sections for the second edition. The chief changes are to be found under the heading The New Polemic, and this is naturally to be expected as the Moslem attacks on Christianity are continually shifting, so that the corresponding defences or counter-attacks need also to be revised. One small slip has been noticed on page 300 where it is stated that Matthew, Mark and Luke are concerned with history, not theology. Modern New Testament study, particularly under the influence of Form-criticism, recognizes that even the earliest written Gospels arose from the preaching of the gospel, and consequently are not free from doctrinal views of the person of Christ. Even St. Mark's Gospel does not give us an unbiassed view of what an older generation called "the historical Jesus", but rather describes the Jesus Christ who was known in history and in life as the Saviour of the world. Attention is drawn to this small point only because it illustrates the fact that, just as we are trying to present the doctrines, say, of the Trinity and the Virgin Birth, as they appear to us Christians in this generation, so in all our Christian teaching we need as far as possible to keep abreast of the latest researches. This necessary change in the modern presentation of Christianity is in marked contrast with the changes in Moslem polemic to which this book refers. Islam, though it changes, does not (theoretically at any rate) admit development; and the changes in its polemic are dictated purely by opportunism, and not by any changes in its doctrinal basis or in the scholarly interpretation of the sources.

It is greatly to be hoped that the new missionaries now reaching Moslem lands will find in this hand-book the same help as those who were already in the field when it was first published, and also that many people in the home lands may find in this book a good introduction to the great study of Islam. The reviewer has become more and more convinced that a study of another religion that attempts to be scientific and objective only becomes dull and lifeless. Religions are the background of men's lives, and cannot be adequately studied without assessing the truths and falsehoods they

contain; and therefore for us who are Christians the truest, as well as the most sympathetic, consideration of another religion is to be obtained by seeing it in its relation to Christianity. A missionary's account of a non-Christian religion, if well done, should be the best; just as a missionary's account of the people amongst whom he works is likely to be truer and more sympathetic than that of a traveller or an official administrator.

Northampton, England L. E. Browne.

The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890; the Slave Trade and the Scramble. By R. Coupland. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1939. pp. 507. Illustrations and map. 25s.

When writing his monumental biography of Sir John Kirk, of which this is the third and penultimate volume, Dr. Coupland, Beit professor of Colonial History at Oxford, found it necessary to investigate the long connexion of the Arabs with the East Coast of Africa and particularly the history of the Albusaid rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar. His previous volume, *East Africa and its invaders* (1938) dealt largely with Seyyid Said who in 1840 removed the centre of his realm from Muscat to Zanzibar which through his masterly economic policy grew from an insignificant little town, rarely visited by shipping except for taking in water and provisions, to be the principal port on the western shores of the Indian Ocean, the source of almost all the world's supply of cloves and the biggest slave-market in the East. The present volume follows the fortunes of Said's successors Majid (1856-70) and Barghash (1870-88). It is evident that while Arab and Swahili traders had formed settlements in the interior as far as Lake Tanganyika, the effective dominion of these Sultans did not extend much beyond the coast. Lip service was paid to their overlordship. Their "passports" were honoured. But they did not rule in the interior. They gave no orders. If they had, they could not have enforced them. The period, 1856-1890, is of intense interest because its earliest years witnessed the exploration of East Africa and the awakening recognition of its economic and strategic value by European powers; it witnessed also the continued efforts of Britain to gain the goodwill of the Sultans for the abolition of the slave trade. Dr. Coupland makes it clear that British policy aimed, not at annexation of territory, but at supporting the Sultans against the menaces of other Powers and at helping them to make their dominion in the interior effective. Had this policy succeeded there might have come about a vast East African Arab state, extending from Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado and inland to the great lakes. The price the Sultans had to pay for this support by Britain was the progressive abolition of the slave trade. It was a heavy price, for the traffic was the economic basis of their realm; almost all, if not all, their subjects were concerned in it and Sultan Barghash derived fully one-fourth of his income from the duty on slaves. Abolition of the trade threatened ruin and was not readily accepted, but Barghash knew that the friendship of Britain was essential to the existence of the Sultanate and he yielded to the firm persuasions of Sir John Kirk, Britain's mouthpiece.

And once he had signed the treaty of 1873 he fully honoured his word. All this story Dr. Coupland tells in his wonted brilliant manner. Not the least interesting part of his narrative describes the attempt of the Khedive of Egypt and General Gordon to extend the Sudan to the sea at the expense of the Sultan's territory. Throughout the whole tale the figure of Sir John Kirk stands out impressively; Dr. Coupland ascribes to him and to David Livingstone the supreme credit for putting an end to the inhuman traffic that for two thousand years had robbed Africa of its manhood, at one time at the rate of 100,000 a year. He has then to tell, with undisguised chagrin, the wreck of Sir John Kirk's policy of supporting the Sultan by the irruption of Germany and the subsequent carving up of East Africa, leaving to the Sultan only the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and a narrow stretch of coast line under the protection of Great Britain. This volume is invaluable for students of East African history and particularly of the part that Arabs have played in that history.

Hartford EDWIN W. SMITH.

Al-Masīḥiyyah fi'l-Islām. By Eighomanos Ibrahim Luka. Cairo, 1938. pp. 224. Price, p.t. 6.

The author of this interesting Christian apologetic for Moslems is the earnest and able pastor of the Coptic Church at Heliopolis. He is one of the foremost leaders in the reform movement within the Coptic Church, and one of the few Egyptian Christian leaders who has made a considerable study of the faith of Islam. Both in theory and practice he has learned much about the Christian approach to Mohammedanism.

The first sentence of the preface is a key to the book. "Whereas many think that Islam is absolutely opposed to the faith and teachings of Christianity, this idea is in fact due to ignorance of what Islam has said about Christianity." The author propounds two fundamental statements and seeks to establish them. 1. The Prophet of Islam taught that Christianity was to be respected and honored. 2. The Qur'ān did not oppose the true Christianity which was established by Christ and promulgated by the Apostles, but its attacks were made against a contemporary Christian heresy which true Christianity itself has always opposed.

The first section of the book shows that the Qur'ān testifies to the truth of Christianity, distinguishing Christians from polytheists as a people who believe in one God. It shows the high qualities of Christian character and the truth of Christian doctrine.

A long second section deals with the inspiration of the Bible, its authenticity, and the duty of Moslems to study it. The author follows the usual line of apologetic in proving that the text of the Bible has not been tampered with, nor has the Book been abrogated. There is a particularly helpful discussion of the difference between the Moslem and Christian ideas of inspiration. Christians do not hold to the Moslem idea of a Preserved Tablet upon which from eternity the sacred writings have been inscribed by the divinely ordered Pen, and from which portions have been revealed by God to prophets who have mechanically reproduced them. The Christian

doctrine involves the disclosure of truths which natural human ability could not otherwise know, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, and also divine guidance in those things which the intellect can understand, but in which it might otherwise err. God has moved the writers of Scripture to write. He has enlightened their minds and preserved them from error. Such guidance is not literal dictation, but gives full play to the natural abilities of the writer. Moslems should realize this difference and not apply their own mechanical ideas of inspiration to the Christian Scriptures.

The author shows that the tritheism which Islam denies is not the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Moslem writers are quoted to show that they consider Christians as believers in the unity of God, and not as polytheists. Christians have also condemned as heretical the same doctrine which Islam refutes. The argument is weakened by the quotation as a proof text (pp. 69, 116) of such a poorly attested verse as the "three who bear witness in heaven" (I John 5:7).

A long section deals with the deity of Christ. It is claimed that the Qur'ān itself teaches this doctrine. It speaks of 'Īsā as the Word of God, His Spirit, and Messiah. It testifies to Christ's perfect moral life, to His supernatural power, His unique characteristics, such as preexistence and virgin birth, His offices of mediation, judgment, etc. These points in the discussion seem definitely over-stressed, and the author weakens his case by claiming too much. He reads the Christian interpretation of these terms into the Qur'ānic words in a way that begs the question. On page 108, *e.g.*, he says, "Thus the Qur'ān asserts the deity of Christ by calling Him 'the Word of God' ". It is not strange that this interpretation has been strongly challenged by the editor of *Majallat al-Azhar* who says that Christians have no right to interpret the Qur'ānic statements about Christ in such a way as to make them prove the Christian doctrine of His deity.

The author deals briefly with the Incarnation as necessary to the complete self-revelation of God and His saving purpose for mankind. His Christological statements are clear and succinct and show no evidences of monophysite teaching. He deals at length with the Atonement, showing the universality of sin, the mercy and justice of God, and the idea of ransom from sin as being perfectly fulfilled only in Christ's life, death, and resurrection.

A concluding section deals with Qur'ānic verses which deny the deity of Christ. It also gives in parallel columns a comparison of Christian and Moslem statements about Christ.

The author's splendid spirit and purpose are shown in his statement, "As we send forth to our Moslem brothers this message which has been prompted by sincere love and a desire for mutual agreement and for manifesting the glory of God, we accompany it with our prayers and supplications that God will make it a source of good, of blessing, of salvation, and of guidance unto the straight path, the path of those to whom God has shown favor, with whom He is not angry, and who go not astray. Amen." (p. 177).

The book has 224 pages and is quite well printed on good paper, although there are several slips in proof-reading and in grammar.

In spite of certain weaknesses which have been pointed out it is a valuable book. Further books by the Rev. Ibrahim Luka will be welcomed by Christians in Moslem lands as he continues his earnest efforts to witness to his fellow countrymen of the Moslem faith.

Luxor, Egypt. WALTER J. SKELLIE.

'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah. Vol. II. **Ḥayāt ibn-abi-Rabī'ah.** By Jibrā'īl S. Jabbūr. Beirut, The American Press, 1939. pp. 227.

This is the second in a series of three volumes on the age, life, and works of 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah (d. A. D. 719), the most distinguished poet in the so-called Peninsular school. The first volume, which treats of his age, appeared in 1935 (reviewed in THE MOSLEM WORLD, vol. xxvii, no. 4, p. 412), while the third, which would take up his works, is to follow soon. 'Umar spent the best part of his life in the pursuit of noble dames. His love affairs brought him into disfavour with his puritanical namesake, the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II, who undertook to reform the libertine poet. This was not very difficult, since the bard had already reached his seventieth year. Professor Jabbūr's work is more literary than biographical. The author ascribes to the poet whatever trait or characteristic he desires to find in him and proceeds to find support for it in his poetry. The result is often vertiginous. Some of the illustrations cited, such as the one about Queen Victoria's grandson, are so removed from the cultural heritage of the Near East, where this book would be read, that they are useless and even puerile. The work, however, represents a new phase in the literary activity of Arab scholars. When completed, this series should find a welcome reception among students of early Arabic literature.

Princeton University NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Economic Organization of Palestine. Edited by Sa'id B. Himadeh. Beirut, The American Press, 1938. pp. xxiii + 602.

This is a comprehensive and authoritative survey of the economic structure and organization of Palestine, prepared by eight distinguished specialists and edited by an eminent scholar, Sa'id B. Himadeh, professor of applied economics in the American University of Beirut. It treats of population, natural resources, land tenure, agriculture, industry, transportation and communication, internal trade, foreign trade, monetary and banking system, and fiscal policies. The work also includes 193 tables and three appendices. In view of the multitude of political books and pamphlets that have appeared in recent years, this scientific work should be the more welcome. The editor and contributors of this timely study, as well as the American University of Beirut, in whose Social Science Series this volume appears, should be heartily congratulated.

Princeton University NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Atatürk and the True Nature of Modern Turkey. By Gerard Tongas. Translated from the French by Major F. F. Rynd. London, Luzac & Co., 1939. pp. 80. 3s.

The author of this little brochure (it is hardly more than that) evidently desires to pay a gracious compliment to modern Turkey.

The best construction that can be put upon the effort, both of the author and of the translator, to enlighten the Western world regarding Atatürk and his country is to regard their work as a gesture of friendship.

But Modern Turkey merits far more discriminating and truthful interpreters. The book teems with inaccuracies and exaggerations. For example, p. 32, Mt. Ararat is said to be 10,000 feet high (its real height is about 17,000 feet); p. 32, the President of Roumania is said to have visited Ankara in 1937. Roumania has a king, not a president. As a glaring illustration of exaggeration, notice the statement on page 45: "Higher instruction . . . . is entirely in the hands of German professors, technicians and scientists." Anyone who knows Turkey smiles at such a flagrant untruth. The author easily and frequently contradicts himself. For example, on page 30 he says of Ankara, "Water runs everywhere", while on page 33 he says that even drinking water in Ankara comes from Istanbul.

Perhaps the highest values of this essay lie in its enthusiastic, imaginative approach to a great nation which is finding new life and liberty under progressive leadership. The titles of the chapters if seriously treated would really reveal the real nature and the greatness of modern Turkey. The author's treatment is too casual and inaccurate to constitute even a substantial compliment.

F. F. G.

Redressement économique et Industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie. By Orhan Conker and Emile Witmeur. Vol. XVIII of Bibliothèque de l'école supérieure de sciences commerciales et économiques de l'Université de Liége. Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris, 1937. pp. 345, 65 illustrations, one map.

In the last fifteen years, the New Turkey, its creation and progress, has been the subject of innumerable volumes, many of them serious, many trivial and frivolous, in all the European languages. Too many authors, full of enthusiasm for the sensational demise and regeneration of a picturesque and storied "oriental" land, have been content to pay Turkey a brief visit, returning to write and publish immediately a travel-book or "history", in which of necessity only the superficialities of the country's rebirth have been the material. The student or intelligent reader would be wasting his time if he were to consult all these books. The time has come for more thorough comprehensive works, such as, in English, Mr. Webster's recent volume,[1] and for authoritative specializations.

The author of the present study, a Turk himself and at present connected with the Iş Bankası, has, in collaboration with M. Witmeur, editor of the series in which this book has been published, appeared to have sifted judiciously the bibliography of post-war Turkey, and has made a systematic and first-hand examination of one of the most important of the country's reforms, the economic and industrial. The reader will find here a convenient analysis

[1] Donald Everett Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk*, Philadelphia, 1939. (Reviewed in The Moslem World, July, 1939, pp. 302f.—*Ed.*)

and abstracts of the reform laws and programs, of the five-year plan, and of the industrial statistics published by the Turkish government, as well as a brief (and not particularly profound) review of the causes leading to the political, social and economic decline and final collapse of the Ottoman Empire. One is impressed with the amazing progress already made in industrialization (in most cases it has been practically a starting from scratch), and with the ambitious program awaiting fulfilment; and one shares with the author his admiration for the vision and energy of Atatürk who not only conceived but set in motion the sweeping reforms that have enabled the Turkish Republic to take an important place among European nations. It is apparent that the author is a patriot and an idealist, imbued with the idealism of the six-point Republican party program of 1935; the reader, with this in mind, will condone what appears to be occasionally an excess of enthusiasm and a tendency to consider accomplished projects that are still only in the preliminary "on paper" stage. The author is wise to point out as he does in his concluding chapter that the industrialization of Turkey, which in many quarters has become a "mystique nouvelle", is not an end in itself but rather a means toward the reconstitution of the pride and the life of a people.

Contents, in brief: historical sketch of the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire; the old native industries; European economic encroachment and the resultant state of Turkey as a "semi-colony"; political and social reorganization after the revolution; reforms in agriculture, industry, public utilities, and finance; legal reforms to aid industry and labor; the five-year plan of 1933; banking, national economy, and the part played by the new Turkish banks in the financing and control of the new industries.

The work is accompanied by a preface by Ismet Inönü, at the time of publication, Prime Minister, now President of Turkey. Dr. Conker is the author of another volume in the same series, *Les Chemins de Fer en Turquie et la Politique ferroviaire turque,* Paris, 1935.

Princeton University GEORGE C. MILES.

La Science chez les Turcs Ottomans. By Abdulhak Adnan. Paris, G. P. Maisonneuve, 1939. pp. 174.

In this excellent little volume Abdulhak Adnan has provided us with a scholarly and eminently readable synopsis of a little-known phase of the history of science; a very limited phase perhaps, but one not altogether barren and certainly not devoid of interest. The author has been careful not to limit his field by any tendentious linguistic or racial restrictions, and the study is therefore exactly what the title purports, the history of the pursuit of science among the Ottoman Turks. He has, however, chosen to use the term "science" in the restricted sense, excluding the manifold branches of *'ilm* that are not a part of science in the west, such as theology and jurisprudence; the result is a brief but competent survey of the history of the mathematical and natural

sciences, including geography and medicine, in Turkey from the fourteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

The first two chapters, originally published in *Archeion*, vols. XIX (1937) and XXI (1938), carry us through the early years of the seventeenth century, during which period, while making a few new contributions, the Turks largely carried on the Arabic tradition of the transmission of the ancient Greek fund of scientific knowledge. The most interesting section deals with the brilliant liberal period during and immediately after the reign of Muhammad the Conqueror, when the Ottoman court was a haven for scientists as well as literateurs and artists. The decline set in early in the sixteenth century and continued, as the preoccupation with theology and poetry increased, until well into the middle of the seventeenth. Only in geography did the Turks make any appreciable contribution to knowledge, and the author devotes several interesting pages to Piri Re'is, his map and his *Baḥriyya*, and to Sidi 'Ali Re'is, his immediate successor. The year 1579 saw the foundation of the first observatory in the Ottoman empire, but the bigotry of the theologians which had been growing apace put a quick end to this invention of the devil, "comme une institution de mauvais augure et comme une cause prédisposante de calamités imminentes pour l'empire". The same period marks the rise in popularity of encyclopaedic works, largely translations and compilations from the Arabic and Persian.

Chapter III, which carries us down to the middle of the eighteenth century, is largely taken up with the *Jihannumâ* and other contributions of the great Ḥaji Halfa or Kâtib Çelebi (I retain the author's transliterations), and with medicine. Considerable progress was made in the latter science, but, as the author points out, Turkey was nearly two centuries behind Europe and in the middle eighteenth century modern anatomy and physiology were still a closed book. Another figure to whom the author rightly gives a number of pages is the resourceful printer (and scientist), Ibrahim Muteferrika. The last chapter describes the accelerated growth of European influence, with particular reference to medicine, and to mathematics as an adjunct to military science. After the establishment of technical schools in the modern sense early in the nineteenth century, Turkey entered the true modern period, and the advancement of science, while slow, proceeded along common lines with the western countries.

The volume is provided with indexes of titles and authors. In the text there are, unfortunately, a number of typographical errors.

Princeton University GEORGE C. MILES.

A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah from MS. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. By Elinor Husselman. London, 1939, Cristophers. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. 8vo, ix, 35 pp. with 6 plates. $2.00.

Few collections of tales have been so popular in the Muslim East as that collection of Animal Stories which began in India as the *Panchatantra,* circulated in Persia in a Pahlavi form, from which it was translated into Syriac and had an immense popularity in the Christian East, and later, translated again from Pahlavi by

Ibn Muqaffa' into Arabic, had an even more enthusiastic reception in the Muslim East. The collection travelled then both westward and eastward. To the West we have versions appearing in Armenian, Greek and Latin, and then, as the *Fables of Bidpai,* into various European languages, so that they were Englished as *Pilpay's Fables.* To the East they have appeared in modern Persian, Turkish dialects, Pashto, Hindustani, Malay, and in corrupted forms in yet other languages. There are even Hebrew versions of the tales.

There is nothing peculiarly Muslim about the tales, which are expressions of popular gnomic wisdom, but in the forms in which they are commonly read in the East they have been somewhat Islamized to suit popular taste.

A Greek translation, supposedly from the Arabic, was made somewhere before 1100 A. D. by one Simeon Seth, and entitled *Stephanites and Ichnelates,* from the names of the two jackals who appear in the tales. Miss Husselman here prints the text of a Modern Greek version of three fragmentary tales from a MS. in the Pierpont Morgan collection, which has the curious interest that it appears upon examination to be a MS. which once belonged to the Basilian monastery at Grottaferrata, and appears in their catalogue, but mysteriously disappeared. All that is known of its immediate history is that Mr. Morgan bought it in 1908 from a dealer in Paris.

The pieces are too fragmentary to have other than a technical interest in relation to the history of the spread of the fables. The editor is somewhat exercised as to the type of text from which these tales before her were translated, and makes very careful comparison with the various versions, but a glance at the text seems to make it quite evident that they were not translated from any type of text, but the writer was setting down in his own way tales which he had heard told.

The plates at the end give an excellent idea of the palæographical peculiarities of the MS., and the printing and set-up are the usual excellent standard of all the *Studies and Documents* published by Dr. and Mrs. Lake, of which this is No. X.

Columbia University,
New York ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute. By Nabia Abbott. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938. 8vo xviii, 101 pp. with 4 plates. [Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 15.] $1.50.

Years ago Prof. Grohmann of Prague, our greatest living authority on Arabic papyrology, expressed the hope that in this field of Papyrology, Western scholars might have the help of students from the Near East, whose mother-tongue is Arabic, and who could thus bring to the study an equipment only obtainable with difficulty by scholars in the West, whose familiarity, of necessity, is for the most part with Arabic texts in the literary language. His thought at the time was of Egyptian students, but his hope finds a beginning of its realization in this volume by Miss Nabia Abbott, who comes to the papyri with that equipment, but has had her training in this

country at the University of Chicago, where she presented this study of the Qurrah Papyri as her Doctoral Thesis.

The importance of the Aphrodito papyri for the early history of Islam in Egypt, and for the study of the social relations between the invaders and the conquered people, is already well known from the publications of C. H. Becker and H. I. Bell. Their story is characteristic of Egyptian papyrus finds. When the peasants unearthed them in the process of their tilling in 1901, they had but little idea of their value, so that they came into the hands of the brother of the local mayor and his friends. When some were offered on the market and dealers began to enquire about the find, the Antiquities Service attempted to secure them, but the possessors hid them, and many were burned so as not to get their owners into difficulties with the Government. Some of the pieces were secured for the Egyptian Library at Cairo, and some remained in Egypt in private possession, but the majority of the pieces finally went abroad,—some to Russia to the Lichačov Collection, some to Germany, where they were divided between Strasbourg and Heidelberg, but the largest collection went to the British Museum. The pieces in the present volume were secured by the Chicago Oriental Institute from the German scholar B. Moritz, who was one of the persons officially interested in the original find.

The Aphrodito papyri are for the most part in Greek, but a goodly number are in Arabic, some bilingual in Greek and Arabic, and a few in Coptic. Their special interest is that they come from one centre, Ashqauh, and are official documents, coming almost entirely from the period of governorship of a single man, Qurrah b. Sharīk, who was Governor from 90-96 A. H. Among them are security deeds, tax registers, notifications of tax assessments, and official correspondence between the Governor and the administration offices at Ashqauh with regard to various official matters, but especially the taxes, which as usual were the Governor's chief concern. These official letters are in Greek, but with Arabic counterparts, and when the complete Aphrodito collection is published and the material assembled in some one publication, they will present a rich body of documentary material for the study of the Islamic administration after the passing of its first half-century of domination in Egypt.

In this Thesis Miss Abbott gives some account of Papyrology in general, and of Arabic papyrology in particular, telling of the papyrus itself, of pens and inks and seals and methods of folding and binding documents, and giving some account of the State Bureaus of administration, such as the one at Ashqauh, from which the present papyri come. All this is covering fairly familiar ground. Then she gives us some details as to the peculiarities of the script in the papyri here published, which is a useful supplement to the information already given by Becker and Grohmann. The text of the five Arabic papyri follows, with translation and notes, wisely following very closely the method and system used by Grohmann in his publications of Arabic papyri.

This is followed by a biography of the Governor Qurrah b. Sharīk, drawn from the Arabic historians and from the papyri

themselves, and showing how interesting it is to see the Umayyads through actual documents coming from their period, rather than through the spectacles of prejudiced historians. The most important section, however, is the last, which gives an account of Muslim administration in Egypt in the early years, as it took over from the Byzantine administration, and had to work out its own modifications of this to suit its Islamic set-up. There is nothing in this that is new, but it has been carefully done and interestingly written, and may be unreservedly commended to students who are approaching the study of the social and political development of early Islam. Four plates at the end give excellent photographs of the papyri studied in the body of the volume.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Ḳur'ānic Development, with a full description of the Ḳur'ānic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute. By Nabia Abbott. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. 4to xxii, 103 pp. with 33 plates. $10.

This sumptuous volume, which appears as Vol. 50 of the *Oriental Institute Publications* of the University of Chicago, is a most happy introduction of Arabic studies into that Series. The printing and plate reproduction have been beautifully done, and the volume is a delight to handle.

As was the case with Miss Abbott's earlier volume on the Ḳurrah Papyri, this volume is a fruit of the acquirement by the Oriental Institute in 1929 of the Moritz Arabic collection. Among the parchments and paper MSS. of that Collection were a number of Qur'ānic MSS., both complete Qur'āns and fragments of older Codices. The final section of this book gives a complete description of these, perhaps in some respects unnecessarily detailed in the case of the paper MSS. The fragments of early Codices, however, are important, and the continued publication of reproductions of fragments such as these is something greatly to be desired in the present state of Qur'ānic studies. Miss Abbott has worked very hard over this volume, and all students of the Qur'ān will be grateful to her for this carefully prepared addition to our very scanty body of material on this subject.

Our great problem at the moment, in the case of the more ancient Qur'ānic MSS., is that of dating. Practically all the early Codices and fragments that have so far been carefully examined, show the same type of text, such variants as occur being almost always explainable as scribal errors. The orthography in these early texts is by no means uniform, but their type of text is the same. Now the Kūfan type of text which they present would seem not to have been fixed till the third Islamic century, and though the type which was finally settled on as standard, may have been in existence in some centres at an earlier period, it is curious that no examples of any other type of text have survived among all the fragments that have so far been examined, unless all our fragments are of relatively late date. On the evidence of textual studies, one is inclined to doubt whether any fragments we have are from so early a period as the first Islamic century, and

one would hesitate to date more than a very few in the second century. The question now is whether palaeography can supply any surer grounds for dating. If we could definitely date Qur'ānic fragments on palaeographical evidence, we might have to revise our conclusions as to the types of text. Such work as is here presented us is the indispensable preliminary to such a study. We know that there were types of text current in the great metropolitan centres of Madīna, Baṣra, Kūfa and Damascus, and there may well have been scribal peculiarities in the kind of script current in these ancient centres. Is it possible that we may succeed in identifying by palaeographical criteria the centres from which our various fragments come?

In the earlier part of this volume Miss Abbott tackles one aspect of this palaeographical problem. First she discusses the rise and development of the North Arabic script. By North Arabic script she means the ancestor of the modern Arabic script, which she agrees was a development from the Nabataean. The term, however, is a little ambiguous, for the Lihyānian, Thamūdic and Ṣafaitic scripts were also used in north Arabia for writing north Arabian dialects, and Winnett as recently as 1937 has supported Grimme in challenging the accepted theory of the origin of these scripts from South Arabia. Whether we agree with this or not, the term North Arabic script, if it means North Arabian in contrast with South Arabian, must cover these as well as that of Arabia proper. The script that is used in the earliest Arabic inscriptions seems undoubtedly to be derived from the Nabataean, in which, indeed, Arabs had been writing long before they developed a script of their own. The material collected by the young Egyptian scholar Khalīl Nāmī in his essay *Aṣlu'l-Khaṭṭi'l-'Arabī wa Ta'rīkhu Taṭawwurihi 'ilā mā qabla'l-Islām* (Cairo, 1935) is sufficient evidence of this. But where did this script develop? Khalīl Nāmī, writing with his eye on the prejudices of Islamic orthodoxy, claims that the place of its origin was the Ḥijāz. The earliest Arabic tradition, however, declares that their system of writing came to them from al-Ḥīra in 'Irāq and all that we know points to the substantial accuracy of this, though the explanations of the matter by the Muslim antiquarians are confused and contradictory and in great part fictitious, so that no amount of special pleading will make them fit with one another.

There is another tradition, however, associating the invention of the Arabic script with a member of the Prophet's family, and, taking this legend seriously, Miss Abbott suggests the simultaneous development of an Arabic script from Nabataean in the northern Ḥijāz whence it reached Mecca and Madīna. There is not a particle of tangible evidence in favour of such a theory; its sole support is a chain of assumptions on the authoress' part, and the probabilities against it are enormous. Doubtless writing was well known in commercial circles in these towns long before Islam, but the Muslim tales of how writing got there are due to the imagination and inventive faculty of a much later day. If the dating of the Arabic graffiti on the Temple of Ramm could be assured, we should have evidence of Arabic writing in use in North Arabia as early as

300 A. D. in a form not far removed from what we find in the earliest Muslim inscriptions, and the simplest explanation of its appearance in the Central Ḥijāz would be that these merchants learned it on their visits to the great markets of the north and brought it back with them to Mecca and Madīna long before ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was born. No one at that time was interested to record from whence the art had come, and when, under Islam the antiquarians were interested, they invented various tales about this, as they did about a hundred other matters connected with the earlier history of their people.

As to the development of this Arabic script in the early years of Islam again we have no certain information. Miss Abbott starts out from a passage in the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm (p. 6 of Flügel's edition), where he says that the Arabic scripts came in the order Meccan, Madīnan, Baṣran, Kūfan, and gives three characteristics of the Meccan-Madīnan script. She assumes that this witness is sound for the first Islamic century, but Ibn an-Nadīm wrote towards the end of the 4th Islamic century; his order of the cities immediately arouses suspicion in the mind of anyone who has studied the Muslim accounts of the rise of the various religious sciences, and his illustrations on p. 6 of what he says is the Ḥimyarī *musnad* writing, and on p. 13 of what he tells us is Iranian, do not encourage confidence that his information regarding early Arabic was much more accurate. Unfortunately his specimens of these Arabic scripts were missing from the MSS. Flügel used in preparing his edition, and we can only hope that Johannes Fück will have the good future to find them among the new material he is utilizing for the new edition of the *Fihrist*. In his next paragraph Ibn an-Nadīm goes on to deal with Qur'ānic scripts, but that he is dealing, not with first century scripts, but with others nearer to his own age, would seem evident from the fact that after enumerating three varieties of Meccan-Madīnan, and six varieties of Kūfan-Baṣran he gives without break, as parallel with them, varieties of Iṣfahānī script, from one of which developed the peculiar Persian type of script; and surely no one is going to suggest that we have primitive Qur'ānic Codices from Iṣfahān.

It is true that he then proceeds to tell of seeing a Codex in the hand of the famous scribe Khālid b. Abī'l-Hayyāj, who was a contemporary of the Caliph ʿAlī, but on p. 40 he tells us where he saw this Codex. It was a Codex in the collection of Ibn Abī Baʿra in the town of Ḥadītha (on an island in the Euphrates between Raḥba Mālik and Ḥit), in which collection was a great number of pieces and fragments from earlier times, on which were written the ascriptions of these pieces as given by divers savants. But as some of these writings were thus ascribed to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain and to ʿAlī himself, and to others among the famous persons of the past, it is quite clear that they were writings of unknown origin, which, by a process painfully familiar, has been ascribed to these famous personages. Thus we have no guarantee at all that the Codex really was from so early a scribe as Khālid. It is an interesting commentary on the limitations of Ibn an-Nadīm's knowledge of early Qur'ānic writing, that in this section he is able to quote the

names of only two of the many writers of Codices we know of from the earliest period, and immediately passes to another section on Codex writers in the 'Abbāsid period. Indeed it is only when he comes to the *warrāqūn* that he really knows a good list of names.

Again, when we look at the characteristics Ibn an-Nadīm gives of the Meccan and Madīnan script, viz., that its *alif's* bend to the right, the upright strokes of its letters are long, and it is a somewhat slanting script (he does not say, as Miss Abbott translates, "a moderate downward slant to the left", for *inḍijā' yasīr* simply means "a slight slant", and the slant, as the pen draws the stroke, might be downwards either to the right or to the left, of both of which slants we have examples). But with such criteria one cannot get far, for in these early Codices, in one and the same MS., a scribe who on one page makes his strokes nearly vertical, on another page will begin to slant them; in one page make his uprights long and thin, and in another have them squat. When the art of the calligrapher became highly developed, of course we get a marvellous consistency in the height and thickness and form of the letters, which make this writing so beautiful. To claim, however, that our criteria for distinguishing an early Qur'ānic fragment as Meccan or Kūfan are whether it has slanting or vertical strokes, and whether it is tall or squat, seems trifling with evidence. Indeed, one suspects that the authoress' anxiety to identify a Meccan hand as distinguished from a Kūfan, is largely due to her earlier theory that there was an independent development of the Arabic script from Nabataean in Mecca-Madīna parallel to its development in Baṣra-Kūfa.

This raises one particular point where the critics will cry out against the authoress. On p. 19 for example, she says—"After looking at these inscriptions, Ḳur'āns, and protocols over and over again, one is led to believe that the heavy, thick, frequently short, comparatively angular, and more or less square script represents the earliest monumental Ḥīran-Kūfic type . . . ". But this is not evidence on which one can base anything. Someone else might look at them over and over again and be led to believe that they represent the earliest Damascus type, and someone else be led to believe that they represent the earliest Egyptian type. In no case is this evidence that they are the one or the other, and we cannot classify early documents on such a basis. One faces this same kind of argumentation all through the book. What on one page is the suggestion of the authoress as a possibility is later on assumed to be proven fact. In these studies one can, it is true, intuit things, but they remain hypotheses to be tested by the facts as they appear, not foundation stones on which one proceeds to build.

So far as the reviewer can at present see we have no criteria for deciding whether a particular early Codex or fragment of a Codex was written at Mecca, Madīna, Baṣra, Kūfa, Damascus, Egypt, or elsewhere, or for distinguishing local scripts. The distinction suggested in this book between the Meccan and Kūfan hands is based on entirely inadequate foundations. Where we can trace the origins of the early Codices to be found in the various European and Oriental collections, the great majority seem to have come from Egypt, and it has been suggested that the peculiar style of writing

that is used in these Codices, which we generally call Kūfic, and which has many underlying similarities to the script of the protocols, was really developed in Egypt. This seems a little difficult to accept, for Kūfa was the great centre of Qur'ānic studies in early Islam, it is the Kūfan type of text that predominated and is found in all the MSS., so that one would expect that the stylized form of writing employed for Qur'ānic Codices would rather have been a Kūfan development. Until further objective evidence is brought, therefore, we may still hold the hypothesis, which has the sanction of Muslims themselves, that the script of the early Codices is a stylized script (developed in all probability from the lapidary script) specialized at Kūfa as the proper style of script for writing Qur'ān Codices, and so was used for Qur'āns wherever they were written, the peculiar characteristics of thickness or thinness, tallness or squatness, uprightness or slantingness, being the peculiarities of individual scribes, just as they are at the present day. In the older parchment and paper documents this style is used almost exclusively for Qur'āns. The papyri do not use it much, and the graffito of 'Abd al-Malik from Kharāna is nearer to the *naskhī* than it is to this *Kūfic*. In this connection it may be interesting to note that Ibn an-Nadīm's information about the great calligrapher Khālid said that the writing used for Codices in his day was that used also for poetry and *akhbār* (whatever *akhbār* is meant to cover here).

If we ask whether we know anything about the earliest form of writing in Qur'ānic Codices, we find that we do have a few small facts:—

(i) *the writing in them was large.* Abū 'Ubaid in his *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* fol. 57, assembles a number of traditions emphasizing the necessity of writing Codices in large bold hand.[1] This agrees with objective evidence, for in those portions of Codices in our hands, which on the evidence of their parchment and ink seem to be among the oldest, the writing is in a large, bold hand, whereas those written in small format in a small hand seem definitely later.

(ii) *they were bare consonantal texts.* Again we have an imposing array of traditions against the putting of any points for distinguishing the letters, or for marking the vowels or other reading signs in the Codices.[2] In fact it is recorded of Khalīl b. Aḥmad († 170 or 175) that it was one of his claims to fame that he successfully fought against this prohibition of putting in the diacritical points.[3] This again agrees with observed fact, for texts which on other grounds seem to be among the oldest are generally without these points. This criterion, however, cannot always be applied, and that for two reasons. In the first place it was not uncommon for later scribes to add the points to Codices which came into their hands, and it is frequently very difficult to decide whether the diacritical points are the work of the original scribe or have been added later. Secondly, it was somewhat of a fad in certain circles, as we learn from Ibn al-Mudabbar's *Risālat al-'Adhrā'*, to omit all diacritical points, and so in some Codices of relatively late date they are omitted.

[1] See Ibn Abī Dāwūd *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, p. 135, and traditions against writing Codices small, *ibid*, p. 136.
[2] Abū 'Ubaid *Faḍā'il*, fol. 57; Ibn Abī Dāwūd p. 141 ff; ad-Dānī *Muqnī'*, 132 ff.
[3] *Muqnī'*, 133.

(iii) *they had no rubrics or marks for divisions.* Abū 'Ubaid, *Faḍā'il,* fol. 57, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 137 ff. record traditions reproving the introduction of this practice of putting rubrics at the beginning of new Sūras, or marking the ending of groups of ten verses, etc. Again this fits in with observation, for there are several Codices known to us where these rubrics and division marks have obviously been squeezed into pages by later hands, the original scribe having left no proper space for them.

(iv) *word division was unimportant.* In the texts most familiar to us today the convention is never to break a word at the end of a line. The writing may be crowded up to get it all in, or a word may be unduly lengthened out to fill up the end of a line, but normally we never get part of a word at the end of one line and the remainder at the beginning of the next. In early Codices, however, there was no such fixed convention; the scribe filled out his line normally, and if this ended in the middle of a word, began the next line with what remained of it. Sometimes individual scribes were particular about this, and would leave a blank space at the end of a line rather than break a word, but if the papyri can be trusted the convention against breaking words did not harden until well into the 4th century of Islam.

(v) *letter forms.* Here the reviewer pauses. Undoubtedly there was development in this Qur'ānic script. There are fragments extant where the letters are big, clumsy, irregular, and somewhat uncertain, and there are others where they are regular, neat, and written with a sure hand that tells of having a scribal tradition behind it. Something of this may be due to the individual scribe, but something surely to the tradition of generations of scribes. It may therefore be possible, when the task of examining the great collection of photographic copies assembled by Bergsträsser and Pretzl at the Bavarian Academy is completed, to establish some criteria from the forms of the letters used in the different Codices, whereby we may distinguish their relative dates, and possibly also their centres of origin.

When we look at the specimens in the Chicago collection, however, and note the elegant, regular writing of those fragments attributed to the "first to second" century, we have serious misgivings as to the accuracy of this guess at the dating. It is true that rubrics are missing, and that no attention is paid to word division, but we note that the fragments are small in format, do use diacritical marks that are apparently by the original scribe, and do mark divisions of ten verses, so that the probabilities against so early a dating mount up. Miss Abbott, while she describes A. 6959 as Meccan in script, yet notes that its verse divisions are those of the Kūfan system, which would be very peculiar, but is not significant, however, here, for Sūra LXVIII is one of the Sūras where Meccan and Kūfan verse divisions agreed.

In the account of the later development of the specific scripts, the authoress may be correct in identifying the *mā'il* with the sloping script and the *mashq* with the elongated script, though where Ibn an-Nadīm enumerates some thirteen or fourteen varieties, the fact that only two of these can be identified, throws some doubts

on our identifications. The reviewer, on the basis of Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 134, had thought of the *mashq* style of writing, not as that of elongated letters, as in the later use of the word, but as "spread-out" writing with undue spacing between the letters, a very good example of which is the A. 6959 in this collection, and which al-Qalqashandī reports as having been the practice of the people of Anbar (which would perhaps explain why it is common in early Kūfic Codices). Ibn Abī Dāwūd in speaking about it, says that Ibn Sīrīn († 110) reproved the writing of Codices in *mashq,* and when asked why he reproved it, he answered, "Because there is defect in it. Do you not see the Alif, how it drowns it? You ought to avoid this". This is just the impression one gets from the script in A. 6959 and others like it; the letters which are so far separated from their fellows in this spread-out writing are "drowned".

In this connection the question may be raised as to the correct interpretation of Ibn an-Nadīm's passage on p. 6 concerning the *khuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif*. Miss Abbott says that he lists the *mashq* "as an early Ḳur'ānic script second only to the great four Makkan, Madīnan, Baṣran and Kūfic". But does he not mean it as a variety of the Kūfa-Baṣra type? The passage would seem to mean—the Mecca-Madīna [4] type has three varieties, the *tī'am,* the *muthallath* and the *mudawwar*. The Kūfa-Baṣra type has six varieties, the *mashq,* the *tajāwīd,* the *salawātī,* the *maṣnū',* the *mā'il* and the *rāṣif*. The Iṣfahānī has varieties of the *sijillī,* the *qairāmūz* from which the Persian hand was derived, and which was contemporary with the (?, word unintelligible because of MS. corruption), which has two forms, the *nāṣirī* and the *mudawwar*. In the specimen which Miss Abbott selects as an example of the *mashq* (interpreted as "extended" writing), we unreservedly agree with Karabacek in dating it as third Cent. rather than second.

The problem of the origin of pointing in Qur'ānic MSS. is obscure, partly because of the contradictory Muslim traditions on the subject, and partly because in treating of *naqṭ* they do not clearly distinguish between the pointing which was to distinguish consonants from one another, and the pointing which was to indicate vowel and other reading signs. That this system of pointing was derived from Syriac custom is very generally admitted, though in the case of the points to distinguish consonants it might have come from the Nabataean. Such distinction of consonants is made in the early Muslim coinage, and in some early papyri, but the question of the introduction of the practice into Qur'ānic MSS. is another matter. In the *Ṭabaqāt*-books we frequently hear of Readers who learned a system of *ḥurūf* from one teacher, and a system of *qirā'a* from another. If we could be certain in interpreting this as meaning that students of Qur'ān reading learned two systems of pointing, one for the points to distinguish consonants (*ḥurūf*), and another for the marking of the vowels and reading signs (*qirā'a*), we should be a step on our way towards an understanding of the early history of the text. The modern Muslim *qurrā'* of the Near East, however, insist that *ḥurūf* here means the same as *qirā'a*.

[4] *Al-madaniyyīn* here may be a scribal mistake for *al-madanī*, or we may have to supply *khuṭūṭ* again before the word.

The commonest tradition is that this practice of pointing was introduced by Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, a Follower, of Shī'ite persuasion, and one of the early Baṣran grammarians. One is a little puzzled, however, at Miss Abbott's attribution to him of the credit "especially for the strokes found in Ḳur'ānic manuscripts in place of the dots found in secular documents", for no such statement is made either in the *Muqni'* of Ibn Duraid, to whom she refers, nor in any other source known to us is it to be found. These lines for dots occur only in some old Codices and fragments, and may well be nothing more than scribal fantasy, for one can see scribes in the Near East at the present day do the same thing in careful writing with a thick reed pen, giving just a little pressure with the pen above the letter to be pointed, which results in a thin line instead of a dot. Flügel (*Grammat. Schulen* p. 28), following Ibn Khallikān, gives Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar's date as 129 A. D., but this must surely be too late. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 381, quotes Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ as setting his death before 90 A. H., and this is much more probable, for he transmitted from 'Alī († 40), 'Ā'isha († 57), Abū Huraira († 57), Ibn 'Abbās († 68) and Abū'l-Aswad († 69), and the more famous of those who transmitted from him in turn were 'Ikrima († 105), Ibn Buraida († 115), Ibn Abī Isḥāq († 117) and Qatāda († 117).[5]

Traditions taking the system of pointing back to 'Alī and Abū'l-Aswad ad-Du'alī do not deserve much attention, for the passion grew to refer all grammatical science to their initiative, and this system of pointing was part of it. The other most important tradition is that which ascribes it to Naṣr b. 'Aṣim († 89 or 90), and the story of the connection of al-Ḥajjāj with this matter reads much more like real history. It is, of course, possible that the practice grew up independently in different centres and was later normalized, though it is curious how all the lines of tradition on this matter lead us back to Baṣra.

The thanks of all students of the Qur'ān are due to Miss Abbott for having brought this matter of the early history of the Qur'ānic text into prominence once more and for having made available so much material in her discussion. We have still a long way to go in our study of the textual history of the Qur'ān, and even though we cannot accept some of the suggestions offered in this book, it is a welcome contribution to a much neglected subject, and a contribution which deserves recognition and appreciation.

Columbia University,
New York City ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Muslim University Journal, Vol. 5, No. 2. Muslim University, Aligarh, India. pp. 201. Annual subscription, 3 Rupees.

We are glad to receive a copy of this interesting publication. The contents are of special interest to students of Islam. All of the articles save three, on the Fascist State and the Outram-Napier Controversy, deal with aspects of Islam, and are apparently written by students and faculty members of the University. The longest

[5] It is true that Sulaimān at-Taimī († 143) and Abū 'Amr († 154) are given as transmitting from him, but they may not have transmitted directly.

article, 42 pages, is on Thermal Conductivity of Liquid Helium, by M. Zaki-uddin.

Other writers deal with Indo-Muslim Mystics, Was Mohammed bin Tughlak a Parricide?, Harem Influence in the 15th Century Politics of India, and The New Turkey. The book reviews are scanty and badly done. Z.

State Population Census by Faiths: Meaning, Reliability and Value. By H. S. Linfield, Ph.D. Hasid's Bibliographical and Library Service, New York. pp. 71.

This is an invaluable and scholarly introduction to the science of religious statistics, and, although primarily concerned with Europe and America, indicates the difficulties of a religious census of Islam or Buddhism. World-statistics of religion are largely guess-work. Even the decennial census of India, which gives in such great detail the religious grouping of an entire continent of humanity, is not statistically reliable. The nature of a religious census conflicts with the desired result because of its subjective implications.

What is the meaning of the state population census by faiths, its reliability and value? After discussing each group of countries that practise a religious census of population, the author quotes a letter which he received from the census bureau of the Danish Government, and another from the census office of Mexico, which is one of the Latin American countries that take a population census of faiths. The Chief of the statistical office of Denmark writes as follows: "In re the reason which made us abandon the practice of taking the census by religious creed. That this was not done in our census of 1930 was due to the fact that the census of 1921 made it evident that the answers to the question of religious creed did not give a true picture of the distribution of the several creeds, as these answers might be given either according to the religious belief or to the creed to which the person belonged according to Danish law." In the case of Mexico, the chief of the census bureau of that country wrote as follows: "The census reports on religion are among the least conclusive, because of their inherent nature; the same happens with all data of any classification of qualitative character. In Mexico the classification of inhabitants according to religions does not give an exact idea of the situation."

The wide divergence in estimates of Moslem population, e.g., in the Soviet Republics or in Africa is probably due to the fact that Communism and Animism have each, respectively, erased clear lines of former demarcation. Table C. gives the Moslem populations of Albania, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, etc., but the table is fragmentary and contains numerous errors. The Bibliography, however, is invaluable.

New York City S. M. Zwemer.

La Présence de L'Islam. By J. Jousselin. Société des Missions Évangéliques, Paris, 1940. pp. 242.

We welcome this excellent brief study of Islam by one who presents the facts objectively and is nevertheless not ashamed of his Christian convictions. "Islam offers us an extraordinary

ensemble of that which intrigues, interrogates and defies us." We cannot escape its importance as a present problem. The author deals first with the history of Islam in seven chapters, based upon first-class authorities given in his full bibliography. Here we have a sketch of Arabia before Mohammed's mission, the life of the Prophet, the history of the Caliphate and the conquests of Islam.

The second part of the book is on the doctrines and life of Islam, including chapters on the leading sects and the Sufi orders. The only reference to Missions is in the conclusion. Here he indicates that Christianity and Islam constitute two different worlds and world-views. There must be of necessity conflict of ideas but not in the spirit of the Crusades. The great command of Christ includes the world of Islam, which therefore must be evangelized:

"Le devoir chrétien est celui d'une mission, d'un message à délivrer aux peuples de l'Islam. Cela ne peut être accompli dans l'arrogance, mais doit l'être avec l'humilité, la simplicité et le désintéressement dont tout chrétien doit être capable. Le Père de Foucauld voulait élever l'Eucharistie là où elle ne l'avait pas été. Il était préoccupé de voir le Fils de Dieu présent partout. N'est-ce point là le type même de toute mission chrétienne parmi les musulmans? . . . Non point des conquêtes et des conversions dont la décision n'appartient qu'à Dieu et pour lesquelles il faut prier, mais des vies chrétiennes, dont la sincérité, les joies et les sacrifices attestent une Présence qui ne peut être que celle d'un Sauveur qui est aussi le Maître du Monde."

S. M. Zwemer.

The Bible of Mankind. Compiled and edited by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. New York, Universal Publishing Co., 1939. pp. 743. $5.00.

"The Bible of Mankind" contains source material of nine religions: Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and the Bahai Cause. Except for the Jewish, Christian and Bahai religions, the selections are made mainly from the translations in the Sacred Books of the East Series. The selections have prefaces by various authors who are not in every case adherents of the faiths they describe. The general editor wrote the introductions for Zoroastrianism and the Bahai Cause. Dr. E. J. Jurji, who prepared the preface on Islam, is a Christian scholar.

Years ago Bronson Alcott, one of the New England Transcendentalists, projected a work similar to this. The Sacred Books of the East Series is a monumental effort to meet the desire for such works. The "Treasure House of the Living Religions," by R. E. Hume (New York, Scribners, 1932), has topically arranged selections from eleven religions listed in alphabetical order, including Jainism, Shinto and Sikhism and omitting Baha'ism.

In this book the religions are presented in the chronological order of their appearance, with no attempt at uniformity of topics. The object has been to give an idea of the teaching of each religion on chosen subjects. The Rev. Eliot White, who has been an assist-

ant minister of Grace Church, New York City, definitely disavows "the slightest tendency of a propagandist or proselyting nature in his presentation." He adds, "His sole desire is to state, as clearly and simply as a believer can, the nature and influence of Christianity." The passages selected, with the historical facts to which they refer, furnish an adequate basis for a simple Christian faith. The emphasis upon consistent practice is salutary for all.

Our readers will be especially interested in the presentation of Islam and the Bahai Cause. The preface is based on Hitti's "History of the Arabs." The inaccuracy of the statement (p. 520) about the hegira and the starting-point of the Moslem era is due to over-compression. The selections from the Qur'an are drawn from Palmer's translation. It is probably inadvertence that gives to Surah IV the title of "The Woman" (*passim*).

In quoting source material from the Qur'an the question arises whether abrogated verses may be cited. The most famous example is "There is no compulsion at all in religion" (2:257), which is quoted on p. 546. This instance is sufficient to show that inclusion in the Qur'an is not enough to prove inclusion in Muslim doctrine or practice, any more than inclusion in the New Testament (cf. the prescription against blood as food in Acts 15:20) determines present-day Christian practice.

It is well known that the Qur'an is not the only source of the Muslim religion. Another source is the *sunnah* or Tradition. The editors have endeavored to supplement the knowledge of Islam furnished by the Qur'an by including traditions from collections acceptable to the two largest branches of Islam. For Sunni Islam the selections are made from al-Baghawi's *Mishkat al-Masabih* as translated and edited by Goldsack. Traditions acceptable to the Shi'is are chosen from those given in *Ali—the Caliph,* by Mohammed Ali-Al-Haj Salman (Bangalore). The historical validity of the traditions is not mentioned. The selections present the ideas and ideals that Muslims believe to be religiously valuable.

In the last Preface these statements are made:

"The Bahai Cause is the latest summons of God to the inhabitants of the world to become harmonized on the material and moral planes in order to illumine the minds and hearts and to destroy the foundations of hostility and misunderstanding from among mankind. It is the call of the Almighty to the embattled hosts to lay down their arms. It is an invitation to the leaders of religions to submerge their petty differences, their divisive rituals, their man-made dogmas and outmoded creeds, and to upraise the tabernacle of unity, under the shade of which all nations and races may gather and fraternize in the spirit of the Founders of their Faiths.

"In order to proclaim this all-inclusive message and set it moving through the lives of men, three Voices were raised in the far-off land of Persia; three Personalities appeared on the scene of action."

These three are The Bab, Mirza Ali Muhammad, a descendant of the Prophet of Arabia, Baha-U-Llah, born in Teheran in 1817, and his son, Abdul Baha, born in Teheran in 1844.

The Preface is too brief to deal adequately with these three leaders. We refer interested students to "Baha'ism, its Origin—History—Teachings," by W. M. Miller (New York, Revell, 1931), and its bibliography, for further information.

There are 126 pages of selections from the writings of Baha-U-Llah and Abdul Baha. An important element in the appeal of the Bahai Cause is presented on p. 618:

"In the coming of Christ, the divine teachings were given in accordance with the infancy of the human race. The teachings of Baha-U-Llah have the same basic principles, but are according to the stage of the maturity of the world and the requirements of this illumined age."

The first sentence of the Preface, quoted above and this passage indicate the importance of chronology to the Bahais. In automobiles and aeroplanes the latest designs adopted for mass production are acknowledged to be better and safer than their predecessors. If the same analogy held in religion, then the Lahore offshoot of the Ahmadiyyah movement should have absorbed the Bahais until another religious leader wins them while he remains the latest—Father Divine, for instance.

It is helpful to have easily accessible careful, comprehensive, well-intentioned presentations of the various religions which claim the allegiance of mankind. The breadth of appeal should lead to depth of interest. What is of eternal, universal and historical validity will survive.

Hartford EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

The Bible of the World. Edited by Robert O. Ballou in collaboration with Friedrich Spiegelberg, Ph.D., S.T.M. (Columbia University) and with the assistance and advice of Horace L. Friess, Ph.D. (Columbia University). New York, Viking Press, 1939. pp. 1414. $5.00.

Here we have an ambitious attempt to build up a Bible of the World "from the most beautiful sacred literature of all the peoples of the earth and to provide the reader with the vital writings of not only the Old and New Testaments but of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism and Taoism as well". The title is however misleading and the contents omit all reference to Shintoism, Sikhism, Babi-Bahaism, Mormonism, Christian Science and other religions which also have "sacred books" that are widely circulated. Bibles of the World, or, Sacred Books of all Nations, would have expressed more accurately the contents; although nearly eight hundred pages are selections from the Old and New Testaments. Over one half of the book! A few pages of the Apocrypha are included, but all of Chronicles, Obadiah, Colossians, Titus, Philemon, Peter and Jude are excluded as well as some of the most beautiful chapters of Isaiah (53d) and the Psalms. There seems to be no method in the matter. But the compiler believes that these "Scriptures" are all more or less on a par and "their disagreements confirm rather than deny basic truth". Such was not at all the opinion of Max Müller, to whom we owe the complete translations of the library of the Sacred Books of the East in fifty-one volumes. Robert O. Ballou,

however, writes: "There is, in the Upanishads, in the words of Gotama Buddha, in the Book of the Second Isaiah, and the Tao-Te-King a sense of purity and eternal might and beauty familiar to any one who knows the Sermon on the Mount. It is impossible to read these, or the Bhagavad-Gita, or the words of Chuang Tze and Sri Ramakrishna, with an unprejudiced mind, without hearing a timeless voice speaking through each of them, the voice of an intangible spirit, the essence of universal divinity. It speaks not to one group of persons alone—not to Hindus or Taoists or Mohammedans or Jews or Christians only—but to all mankind. For those who have truly listened to it with understanding, there is no sectarianism, no division of any kind—yet for too many, understanding has been confused by narrow interpretations of Hindu dogma and ritual, by the misinterpretation of Buddhist doctrine which represents it as pessimism and nihilism, by the racial exclusiveness of the Jew, the fanatic intolerance of the Moslem, and the sectarianism which has ever divided the Christian Church."

The selections from Mohammedan Scriptures (pp. 1289-1342) are a score of *surahs* of the early, middle and late Meccan period and also twelve pages from *surahs* of the Medina period as given in Rodwell's translation. This meagre selection from the Koran is followed by a few stories from the *Masnavi* and Forty-two Traditions of An-Nawawi—which no Moslem would put in one bracket with the word of Allah.

There are thirty-four pages of notes, an excellent bibliography and a full glossary and index. But the compilation by its selective method, Introduction and Notes is intended to be a direct challenge to the uniqueness and universal character of the Christian revelation.

New York City S. M. Zwemer.

Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library. By Philip K. Hitti, Nabih Amin Faris and Butrus Abd-Al-Malik. Princeton, Princeton University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1938. pp. 764. Leather, $15.00.

This Catalog of more than 4,500 titles describes the largest treasury of Arabic MSS. in America whose richness and generous availability have already benefitted Oriental students at Princeton and elsewhere.

An Introduction gives the history of the collection and calls attention to special items of interest.

The MSS. are arranged under library subject headings in chronological order. The description of the MSS. includes the name of the author in both English and Arabic, the title of the book in Arabic and English translation, the date, name of the copyist, codex details and a statement about the subject of the work. Then follow quotations from the beginning and ending of the MS. adequate for further identification. Occasionally references to copies in other libraries are given. It is here suggested that all catalogues of Arabic manuscript and printed books refer in all cases, as this does in some, to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur und Supplementbände,* because it lists the

contents of most library catalogues as well as other bibliographies. A work that is not in Brockelmann is rare indeed.

The author and title indices are invaluable because additional copies of separate works are listed under the heading of "Collections." These collections, like anthologies of the West, are useful indications of the estimation which books have won.

All interested in Arabic and Islamic Studies may well offer their congratulations to those related in any way to this Collection and its Catalog.

Hartford EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

A Doctor without a Country. By Thomas A. Lambie, M.D. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1939. pp. 252. $2.00.

In his introduction, Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Johns Hopkins University speaks highly of this thrilling narrative, which tells the story of Dr. Lambie's work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and afterwards in Ethiopia. "It is broad enough also to command the genuine interest of all who are glad to see another vast area of the world opened to a real civilization. The expert work of our doctor writer should, too, engage the attention of our profession because of his splendid, efficient services to thousands who had no other hope of relief. It has appeared to me more and more, as the subject has opened up in its delightfully natural fashion, expressing the personality of the writer, that I was following one who walked closely in the footsteps of our great David Livingstone."

The story is full of interest but there is a strange absence of dates, so that the reader finds difficulty in following the career of Dr. Lambie. It is a personal narrative from beginning to end and the title refers to the fact that during the World War the author was offered a Commission in the Royal Army Medical Corps but felt unwilling to give up his American citizenship. In 1916, however, in order to be able to hold property for his medical work he became an Ethiopian subject, making the sacrifice of American citizenship for this purpose. The last chapter deals with the Italian invasion and the many difficulties which compelled one missionary society after another to abandon work in Ethiopia.

The book has no index and one inferior map.

New York City S. M. ZWEMER.

Ararat. By Elgin Groseclose. New York, Carrick and Evans, 1939. $2.50.

It is refreshing to find a book with the idealisms of "Ararat" on the best-seller list. Mt. Ararat is used as a symbol for the necessity of faith for the salvation of civilization. The Armenian massacres in the time of Abdul Hamid serve as a background for this dramatic presentation of the spiritual development of individual men and women as they struggle against overwhelming odds.

Of the two outstanding characters in this volume, Amos Lyle, an American missionary, in his simplicity, fidelity, eccentricity and idealism, represents faith while Paul Stepanovitch Markov, the Russian soldier, is a telling example of a life with its emphasis on means rather than ends.

The narrative is beautifully written, gripping to the point of

excitement and well deserves the acclaim it has received from critics during recent months. Some have compared this volume with the "Forty Days of Musa Dagh." However, "Ararat" is neither morbid nor depressing but is rather inspiring and uplifting with its fascinating pictures of the Near East.

The author writes from first hand knowledge of the Ararat region, having taught at the Presbyterian Mission School in Tabriz, following which he was engaged in Near East Relief work in the Caucasus. This helps to account for the graphic and moving nature of this volume. It is a worthy successor to Dr. Groseclose's "Persian Journey". It is to be hoped that there will be other volumes of a similar nature from his pen.

New York City HERRICK B. YOUNG.

Annual Bibliography of Islamic Art and Archaeology—India Excepted, With the Collaboration of Dja'far 'Abd El-Kader, M. Aga-Oglu, F. Bajraktarevic, M. Abdullah Chaghtai, R. Ettinghausen, Zaky M. Hassan, Vera Kratchkovskaya, C. J. Lamm, 'Abd Ar-Razzaq Lutfi, F. L. Max, St. Przeworski, S. Reich, P. Ricard, G. and M. Rodinson, J. Rypka, A. Van de Put, J. P. Vogel, J. Walker, A. Wheen. Edited by L. A. Mayer. Vol. III. 1937. Jerusalem, Igarta Divan Publishing House 1939. pp. 96.

This invaluable Annual Bibliography appears late. We are promised that the next volume will be published early in 1940. It contains an annotated catalogue of everything that has appeared in print, whether in magazine or books, related to the architecture, topography, the fine arts, calligraphy, etc., of the world of Islam, including works in English, French, German, Russian and Arabic.

New York City S. M. ZWEMER.

CURRENT TOPICS

Jesus-Mohammedans in Kano

The following striking news is sent to us by a correspondent in Nigeria:

A certain Moslem, while worshipping in a Kano mosque one day, claimed a revelation that he should worship in the name of Jesus (Isa). He obtained a following, and after some period of time more than a thousand were seeking the new way. This alarmed the rulers, who fancied that he might even try to claim the kingdom for himself. He and his followers fled from Kano to a small town in the country, where they remained for some time, after which he was coaxed back to Kano, only to be strangled to death. His son and other followers were scattered. Later, most of them assembled in the Ningi District, where the pagans rose against them and many were killed.

The present leader of this movement is the grandson of the martyred founder of the sect. It is said that there are at least twenty-one teachers of this persuasion, with upwards of three hundred followers in the Kano emirate. They are a much-abused and maligned people.

Recently two missionaries of the Sudan Interior Mission came in touch with one of the groups belonging to this sect. They live three miles from the town, in a little village of their own. It appears that a Kano *mallam* went to this little village ten years ago, and has converted the entire place, of more than fifty people, old and young. The day after the missionaries arrived at their village, some Moslem informed the Isa people that their white brothers had come. The founder of the sect had stated that some day a white *mallam* would visit them and show the way more clearly. Imagine, then, the feelings of this group when they heard this news! They immediately sent a young man to make inquiry, and finding the report was correct, he hastened to his people with the glad news. The elders of the village, including the chief and the *mallam,* all grey-bearded, came after nightfall, and because of their great fear of the Moslems, removed their sandals as they passed through the town. From the missionary they heard the more complete story of Jesus and His love. Their joy can only be imagined, but it was my privilege two weeks ago to bring them the message, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins". Some twenty of them listened with the utmost attention, while on the other side of the little church was a group of pagan Hausa or Magazuwa people. These, too, were deeply interested. The Jesus people, however, were definite

converts from Mohammedanism during the last ten years. The Lord alone knows what the result of this movement may be. Two weeks ago six of them, after considerable instruction, confessed Christ in the village church.

Social Progress in Iran

From recent issues of the Iran press we learn that the work of constructing a 500-bed Hospital that was recently commenced by the German Construction Company in the grounds to the north of the Jalaliyeh, Teheran, is going forward with the greatest energy. The building of the basement is completed and the building of the second floor has been commenced. According to the contract, this fine building, which has been begun in the best part of the Capital, will be completed for the year 1320 (Spring of 1941), and one more splendid building will be added to the glorious constructions of the Capital.

Permission is given to the Minister of the Interior to borrow two million Rials ($100,000) from the National Bank of Iran for the erection of a new home for the blind and its equipment, and to repay principal and interest within four years from the sale of lands.

Factories are springing up also. The Motherland Match Factory, which has been recently founded and started operations, is located outside the Qazvin gate near the Excise Offices and the large cigarette factory. . . . . At present there are 400 employees in the factory, whose wages vary in accordance with their skill. At present the monthly production of the factory is about two million boxes.

The Cinema and Radio are gaining use everywhere, but both are under government control. The entry of children to the cinemas until 7 years of age is absolutely forbidden, and the entry of children from 7 to 16 years into public cinemas is forbidden. (Article 39.) For boys and girls from 7 to 16 years of age, educational films, imported by the cinema managers, and other films, the showing of which the Ministry of Education and the Central Police Department shall deem fitting for children, shall be shown on one of the holidays of every week, during the daytime and before nightfall, and if the children's seniors desire to go to educational films at those hours with the children, they shall be free to do so.

As regards the radio, in order that the generality may be able, at small expense, to enjoy the government broadcasting service that will soon be established, the Minister of Post and Telegraph and Telephone has in view the importation of cheap receiving sets which will be made available to all at the cheapest possible prices. The proposed sets will be of two types: 1. Sets with tubes that work on (city) power or dry batteries, and with a loud speaker. 2. Sets without tubes and power, very simple, that give sound through earphones which can be used by only one person at a time.

For the purpose of meeting a general need and for the convenience of all, the Municipality has completed negotiations with the Telephone Company, and it has been decided that booths and telephones shall be installed at twenty places in the city in order

that persons who are in need of telephonic communication may go to the said places and telephone. And now functionaries are engaged in building the telephone booths. Very soon public telephones will be installed by the telephone company in several parts of the city.

The National Department of Music, according to an announcement it has made, will organize a special class at the Department of Music for men and women for the purpose of teaching and training singers. The period of instruction for the said class will be one year, following which they will be established as music teachers with an adequate salary in the capital and the provinces. Obviously volunteers whose musical information and degree of training is greater will have the preference over others. Volunteers should report at the National Music Department in the Beharistan Square for enrollment.

This Moslem Work: A Parable of the Cameroon Bush

"They are the people" (referring to pagans), "among whom you will see results," said a missionary of some years' experience to another who was but recently out. "As for those Fulani (Moslems), you will never get anywhere with them." "But," demurred the newcomer, "I believe God is well able to save them, even as He saved us." "Of course He is, I believe that, too," was the reply, "but . . . !"

Now let us have a look at the missionary occupation of this part of the country. A clear line could be drawn almost straight across the Cameroons, showing where the Missions have occupied the country, and yet no further. Why this clear demarcation? Is it because of the sparsity of population? There certainly are less people in some places, but that is not the reason. What is the reason, then? Simply—Moslems!

Not so very far from us are a few stations of other Societies doing fine work on the fringe of the Moslem area, that is, where Moslems and pagans intermingle, but the aim of this work is to reach pagans, and not Moslems. The Moslems have been left almost as though there were no place in the Gospel for them. We believe God is able and willing to save them, but your definite cooperation is needed in conviction of that fact, and in intercession.

Seeking an illustration one day, that would parallel the great possibilities of this work, I viewed from my window that which is seen every day—the bush—a hopeless, tangled mass, so to speak; and the Lord gave these few simple thoughts. Perhaps the first word a newcomer is inclined to ejaculate on seeing the African bush is "impossible"—a common expression applied also to Moslem work! Yet it is in the midst of such impossible country that here and there are found the farms of the people! They do not seem to trouble to clear *all* the land; sufficient room to move around seems to be the first necessity, and the aim—to be ready with the seed at the most favourable time.—*The Light Bearer.*

So This Is Tangier

Ernest J. Long writes in *North Africa*:

"It is at Tangier that many Europeans make their first acquaintance with the East. In consequence, too superficial an acquaintance may give the impression that Tangier, in common with many another Mediterranean and Oriental port, is but a peep-show for the entertainment of tourists.

"To many, therefore, Tangier's wealth of interest remains largely unexplored. This is a great pity, for Tangier is a fascinating place, full of human interest. What a mixture of races—and currencies! Moorish money, English shillings, French francs, Spanish pesetas. And until recently there was no effective postal service. Each country of importance had its own office and its own stamps. What a thrill to encounter a red British letterbox outside the very gateway of Hope House!

"Shop-signs will be perceived bearing French, Spanish and English inscriptions. It is not without humour that, whereas one proprietor displays a board bearing the legend 'English Chemist', his neighbour on the other side of the street has a placard inscribed '*British* Library.' Apparently he is aware that our friends north of the Border are rightly averse to having anything dubbed 'English' when its correct description is 'British.' Upon the shelves of our literary friend's collection we should find, presumably, not merely the English novelists and poets, but the works of Sir Walter Scott, not to mention one Robert Burns.

"Tangier rises from sea-level, and spreads itself over this hillside, for all the world like some vast white amphitheatre. At the summit of the eminence is a plain called the Marshan; and it is here, upon the seaward fringe, that Hope House and the Tulloch Memorial Hospital, Miss Glen's School and the little meeting hall (the 'Spanish' chapel) are to be found."

Woman in Modern Islam

The *Minbar al Sharq* (Cairo) thinks that there might be a revival of religion among Moslem women:

"The national movement of 1919 did not bear fruit until the women of Egypt entered into it. In the same way the Islamic revival will not be successful until the women begin to share in it.

"Religion is the fountain of a sincere national love. When we say we are Muslims others need not think that it is another religion like their own. There is a difference because Islam is a collection of principles, laws and culture not to be found in any other religion on the face of the earth. Muslims must remind the world of it and await its acceptance or its rejection.

"A Muslim woman has many reasons for speaking up loudly in the religious movement. The women of the world are indebted to Islam for their very lives. This is historically true because it was Islam which overcame custom and gave girls a place among humankind not equalled anywhere. Before that time a girl might have been buried alive by her own parents. Our religion protects

her life and puts man and woman in the same class. The women of Islam should make this fact known to their sisters in Europe and America.

"Moreover a woman in Islam is more favored than her sisters who belong to other religions because she has freedom, equal rights to property and the right to decide about marriage, so that she is not a slave. So should she not undertake her share in this religious revival in order that her sisters in the world may enjoy equal privileges?

"Here we find a place for the energy of Madam Hoda Sha'roui and her companions—let them persuade European women to study Islam and its laws and social organization. One who made an honest study of womankind before the time of Islam and then studies her in Islam could produce a useful film. Why should not Mme. Sha'roui undertake this? It would be a service to womanhood and to Islam. She is the very one to attempt it because she is a Muslim and because of her position in the Feminist League."

Limiting Plurality of Wives and Forbidding Divorce

Among the schemes introduced by the Ministry of Social Service is one which will have a great effect on Egyptian life. It aims at the limiting of marriage to one wife only and also limiting divorce. It will place a careful watch upon wedding contracts so as to forbid their being carried out if either party is proved to be unfit for marriage from a health or economic standpoint. Such a law has already been completed and a synopsis prepared explaining its aims.

This synopsis says that the Islamic law has a higher ideal than to allow plurality of wives to cause chaos in Egyptian society, but it allowed plural marriages for the noble purpose of reforming family life. One of the first purposes of limiting plural marriage is to demand material capacity and to require a very definite and convincing reason for anyone wishing to marry more than one wife. The one to decide the matter is the Shari'a judge.

All Egyptians feel the great harm caused by the prevalence of divorce and the evil suffered by the Egyptian family by its spread among all classes, especially the poorer ones. It must not be forgotten that the first sacrifice to divorce is the child. Therefore the law forbids divorce except with the agreement of the Shari'a judge and after an investigation.—*Al Ahram* (Cairo).

Missions on the Borders of Afghanistan

We quote from a recent missionary publication:

"The missionaries need our prayer support now more than ever, and let us not fail them in these days of turmoil. Mails are delayed and censored and in some places communications are cut off because of the war. Those who have gone out from England and the other European countries will in many cases suffer the loss of support from their home constituencies because of war restrictions.

"Let us pray for students who are preparing for service on the foreign field, especially those who have been called to work amongst

Moslems and on the borders of Afghanistan. The Northwest Frontier of India and the Iranian border are still open to missionaries and workers are needed. Some months ago a missionary wrote, 'After sowing, reaping, and I feel our great need on the Frontier now is for reapers. If the Lord will thrust forth those whom He chooses, it will be a great day of rejoicing for us'.

"These doors may not remain open very long if war should break out in Central Asia. Some years ago a faithful, consecrated Christian Russian woman worker traveled through Russian Turkestan distributing Christian literature in towns and villages. Now no Christian worker is allowed there, and Christian literature that was sent in by missionaries from Iran was turned back at the border.

"Missionaries of the Swedish and China Inland Missions who were working in Chinese Turkestan and parts of Northwestern China, have been forced to leave by the Soviet authorities, and Christians have been imprisoned. Afghanistan is still closed to the preaching of the Gospel, but missionaries in Iran and on the Indian border are able to give the Gospel to Afghans who come across the border.

"English missionaries are working in Quetta, Baluchistan, where there is a hospital, a school, and evangelistic work, but large portions of Baluchistan are still unevangelized.

"In Kashmir there are hospitals, schools and some evangelistic work under the Church of England Missionary Society in Srinagar, and in two or more larger towns near by. A few independent workers are reaching some villages, but many are yet without the Gospel. Missionaries under the Central Asian Mission are in the fastnesses of Baltistan, a part of Kashmir, and a handful of Moravian missionaries are working in Lesser Tibet (Ladakh) adjoining Kashmir.

"While we see signs in the world today of the near return of our Lord Jesus Christ and rejoice in this blessed hope, let us give the more earnest heed to obey His command to carry the Gospel out to the ends of the earth."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Exploration in Cilicia. J. Garstang and Miles Burkitt. (In *Annals of Archeology and Anthropology,* Liverpool. June, 1939. pp. 38-72).

Account of the work of the Neilson Expedition at Mersin, 1938-1939.

La Lettre à l'Académie Iranienne de S. A. Mohammed Ali Foroughi. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier I, 1939. pp. 15-74).

Points out various faults to be found in the Persian language and suggests possible remedies.

Shapur, City of Kings. R. Ghirshman. (In *Asia,* New York. December, 1939. pp. 716-718).

Describes third century finds in Syria's royal Sassanian city by an archeological expedition working under the direction of the Louvre.

Towards a Reform in Arabic Orthography. A. Arberry. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier I, 1939. pp. 97-107).

Examines the virtues and defects of a method proposed in 1935 by Fr. Anastase-Marie de St. Elie for simplifying reading Arabic.

II. ARABIA

Bishr b. abī Khāzim: Collection of Fragments. Gustav von Grünebaum. (In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. October, 1939. pp. 533-567).

Extracts in Arabic from a poet who allows his readers a deep insight into the formation of poetical schools in ancient Arabia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Aspects of Islam in Nineteenth Century South Africa.

S. A. Rochlin. (In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London. Vol. X, part 1, 1939. pp. 213-221).

A historical account of the development of Mohammedanism among the *Ahl Kâf* of the Cape of Good Hope.

Les Champs de Bataille au Temps du Prophète. M. Hamidullah. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier I, 1939. pp. 1-13).

Descriptions of Badr, Uḥud, Khandaq, Hudaibiyah, Khaibar and Hunain.

L'Expansion des Turcs en Asie. J. Deny. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyon. 1939. pp. 191-215).

A lecture by the administrator of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, who is also professor of Turkish at the Centre des Études Turques at the Sorbonne.

The First Women Converts in Early Islam. G. H. Stern. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1939. pp. 290-305).

Mohammed evidently planned to have women active in the religious communal life and early records in Mecca and Medina show that women of all classes supported the new religion.

Les Turcomans de Rûm au Moment de l'Invasion Mongole. Cl. Cahen. (In *Byzantion, Bruxelles.* Tome XIV, fasc. 1, 1939. pp. 131-139).

Calls attention to some texts of the thirteenth century which have escaped general notice,—one an Armenian chronicle, another by Frère Simon, a Dominican monk, and the third by Baibars Mansûrî.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Le Dieu Bon, Est-il le Dieu de Mahomet? André D'Alverny. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyon. 1939. pp. 216-241).

Aims to show that the view that the God of Islam is a cold, remote, capricious ruler of destiny is incomplete, distorted and therefore partially unjust.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Early References to Music in the Western Sūdān. Henry George Farmer. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. October, 1939. pp. 569-579).

Citations from Arabic authors of the eleventh century and later, with an attempt to identify instruments referred to with those now in use and with a suggested derivation of the musical term "jazz" from the Arabic "jaz' ".

MUHAMMAD'S BOND WITH THE WOMEN. Gertrude H. Stern. (In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London. Vol. X, part 1, 1939. pp. 185-197).

Describes the pledge given by women in the early days of Islam to add a formal aspect to their conversion and to show their acceptance of the prophet's ordinances.

OLD AND NEW IN PERSIA. The Baroness Ravensdale. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington. September, 1939. pp. 325-355).

Lord Curzon's daughter contrasts present-day Iran with her father's impressions of Persia fifty years ago.

THE PROBATION SERVICE IN PALESTINE. W. H. Chinn. (In *Oversea Education,* London. October, 1939. pp. 6-13).

Increasingly painstaking efforts are being made to safeguard the manners and morals of young Arabs and Jews.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFRIQUE ÉQUATORIALE FRANÇAISE. Pasteur Vallery-Radot. (In *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Paris. 15 Octobre, 1939. pp. 678-695).

Description of social and economic conditions, emphasizing progress in education and public health among the native population.

LES BASES ESSENTIELLES DE LA COLLABORATION DE LA GRÈCE ET DE LA TURQUIE DANS LES BALKANS. S. P. Phocas Cosmetatos. (In *L'Esprit International,* Paris. 1 Octobre, 1939. pp. 602-620).

The stable accord existing between Athens and Ankara and in the hearts of Greeks and Turks is the best presage for peace in the Balkans as far as its southern neighbors are concerned.

CAN FRANCE GIVE SYRIA A KING? Albert Viton. (In *Asia,* New York. October, 1939. pp. 599-602).

Discusses French problems in the Near East and their possible solution by the elevation of Abdullah, ruler of Transjordania, to the Syrian throne.

THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. J. Rives Childs. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1939. pp. 634-647).

The East India and the Levant companies of the sixteenth century were the direct progenitors of the later developed consular and diplomatic service in Turkey, Persia and India.

ITALY AND THE SUDAN. Dr. Marcel P. Hornik. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. September, 1939. pp. 334-343).

A survey of the situation from 1884 to date.

THE LATEST ALLY: TURKEY TO-DAY. Barbara Ward. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. September, 1939. pp. 304-312).

Views Turkey's economic situation, especially her foreign trade, and suggests the advisability of lessening Germany's commercial influence.

POLITICS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. A. R. Lindt. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1939. pp. 619-633).

Describes the various Arab states which are the seats of British political agents and shows how discreetly influence has been exerted on the states to keep them under British sway.

LA POLITIQUE MÉDITERRANÉENNE DE LA TURQUIE. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études,* Paris. 20 Novembre 1939. pp. 382-400).

Discusses the whys and wherefores of Turkey's alliance of 1939 with France and Great Britain.

LES POPULATIONS DU LEVANT SOUS MANDAT FRANÇAIS ET LA GUERRE. H. F. (In *L'Asie Française,* Paris. Septembre-Octobre, 1939. pp. 275-277).

The approach of peril in Europe has put an end to all dissent and irritation in the mandated areas and has called forth innumerable expressions of loyalty and friendship toward France.

LES PORTUGAIS AU MAROC. D. Lopes. (In *Revue d'Histoire Moderne,* Paris. Aout-Septembre, 1939. pp. 337-368).

Traces Portuguese activity in Morocco from 1415 to 1769. Contains a full bibliography.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE ARABS AND THE CROSS. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *The World Tomorrow,* London. October, 1939. pp. 378-384).

Considers the article by Mr. Mounir R. Sa'adah, which presents the need for an Arabic Christian church to teach Arabs the power of the Cross, hidden from them in the Koran.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1939: THE NEAR EAST. The Editors. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1940. pp. 48-70).

The Palestinian situation has had a decidedly disturbing effect on all Arab communities, but in general the outlook for missions has been encouraging and the outbreak of the European war has swung Moslem sentiment definitely toward France and England.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
Of Great Britain And Ireland,
74, GROSVENOR STREET,
LONDON, W. 1.

Founded in 1823 "for the investigation of subjects connected with, and for encouragement of, Science, Literature and the Arts in relation to Asia." Since its foundation the Society has been privileged to enjoy the patronage of our Sovereigns. His Majesty King George IV granted to it the title "Royal" on 11th. August 1824, and H. M. King William IV graciously consented, by an autographed letter dated 20th. July 1830, to be its first Royal Patron. It has counted, and still counts, among its members and honorary members the most renowned Oriental scholars, as well as rulers of Oriental Kingdoms and States. It keeps in close touch with a number of Branch & Associated Societies in Oriental countries.

A few of the Publications of the Society.

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20. The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq of Ibn al-'Arabī. Text and Translation. By R. A. Nicholson, 1911. 7s.6d.
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